

/21 cont./

137 masses, superposed one upon the other, at Tuz'z'umt, for ex-
245 ample, climbs much higher: up to more than 1,800 meters at
Targa Ufella, at the foot of the ascent of the Tichka. But the
limit of the olive tree is not extremely sharp. The specialist
will have to determine the reasons for sporadic cases found much
higher than the limit of 1,100 meters, as at Ad'er'd'ur, Wanch-
krir. Local conditions permit the olive tree to grow vigorously
even there, but without bearing any fruit. Inversely, the walnut
tree is bound up with the high valleys, where, beginning in June,
it masses its cool and fragrant foliage. It likes the axis of the
ravines. Seen from above, it emphasizes it by a dense and nar-
row trail of foliation, forming a covered street. Thus at Iguntar.
Thus also from Ad'er'ur to a. Mh'nd, or in the bucolic thicket
that a. Zemlal dominates. Certainly the walnut tree is every-
where, even at Tuz'z'umt, but in an isolated state. Its true
domain is affirmed beginning at 1,400 meters. Still rare at
Tannsmekht, it is displayed in populations of more than 500 at
once at Tasselli and especially Usikis; by the thousands in a.
H'adduyws and I. Geryun. Then it climbs up to 2,350 meters.

137 Another immediately legible feature is the existence of an
133 alfa steppe which covers the red-soil plateau of the Imllien be-
tween 800 and 1,600 meters. This vast piece of land, forming
confines between Seksawa and Dwiran, is without analogue in the
rest of the country that we are studying. Void of human habita-
tion, it contains some scattered cultivations. It is used above all
by the herds of the Idma, who are thus spared the winter descent.
(361) A varied and fragrant pasturage, but teeming with thorns (1).
(241)
(233)

1. Plants characteristic of this horizon: Pega-
num Harmala, Launaea arborescens, Pulicaria
mauritanica, Atriplex Halimus, Carex, Ballota
hirsuta, Juncus maritimus, Lavandula maroccana,
Salsola vermiculata, Stipa retorta, Artemisia
herba-alba. The auri is not really one of the
alfa. It is the spart, Lygeum spartum.

137 /22 cont./ But here and there
 (241) they are interrupted by cultivated clearings, which seem to seek
 the highest brows, as above Lalla Aziza. From below, the
 rugose green of the forest seems to have been pierced by these
 areas, as though polished by a finger. The tier is essentially that
 (824) of the holm oak, Quercus ilex, chl. /Shluh/ tasaf, sought for its
 wood and its fruit. It is the classical tree par excellence: the
 veritable forest "fond de teint" /color base/ of the mountain.
 Toward Tabgurt it climbs up to 2,800 meters and there consti-
 tutes, a fact unique in Morocco, the upper limit of the forest.
 Another characteristic tree, the juniper, tiqqi. It is the oxy-
 cedrus that is represented here. Its dark needles, never dense,
 stud the grove of oaks. Elsewhere, the thurifer /incense bearer/
 reaches 3,150 meters. In Seksawa, it does not perform this role
 of greater margin of altitude.

The great mass of trees stops short above Inraren Z'dinin in a
 border of visible deforestation, which seems to have been at the
 expense of the thuriferous juniper. More to the S., the North re-
 verses of the folds dominating the valleys of Wanchkrir and Usikis
 on one hand, /23/ of Asstrif on the other (Tizi n-Tkchchudin),
 offer more important, but isolated timbering. The denudation of
 the Tabgurt slopes is striking. All this tier is that of pasturage.
 The factors that have played a role here are contradictory. On
 one hand, the drying influence of increased ventilation and in-
 solation; on the other, concentration of humidity in places
 originating from an abundant snow-covering: pools, ooziings, wet
az'mu meadows are frequent. The most remarkable az'mu is
 found at the summit of the Tichka (2,600 meters). This is a
 famous pasture. The general tonality of the flowers of these high-
 lands in their late spring (May, June) is yellow: aghozzir, uchfud,
anaghud, amater, aloggo, some of which are genista. The
 spongy clumps of the ifessi waghad hardly allow a periwinkle
 violet to appear (1).

1. Alyssum spinosum.

The subalpine tier, which is easy to study at the Tizi n'Tbgurt

/24 cont./

137 One feels that one is in a "vale of Arcadia" here. Should this comparison be not very exact, especially in these highlands solemnly shaded by the walnut tree, it nevertheless says something to the imagination and at least suggests a justifiable notion to its that of the profound personality of these mountain recesses and of their immemorial charm.

A Constructed Landscape (2)

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137 2. J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," *Hesp.*, 1943, pp. 152 sq., a study full of the most penetrating notations, with regard to which our debt is great.

But it is the domain of vegetable groupings for which man is the major agent. A degree further in his action and we are at the cultivated plants, with their adventive or subsponaneous margins, which we have studied elsewhere (3).

3. In connection with a "Glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e century)," *R. afr.*, 1950, pp. 357 sq., we have studied in detail the biogeographical cadre of the field, the cultivated plants, and have given a list of nearly forty subsponaneous species which human alimentation uses accessorially (pp. 379 and 380).

Truthfully, this consideration of man, of his movements, of his foods must never be neglected. Many of the features, in this little development on the plant covering, led to man.

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171 First, the Mediterranean cachet of this flora; the opposition between the depths of valleys and their higher walls or the summits; a tiering which, in broad strokes, explains, if it does not bring it about entirely, a pastoral life of the Pyrenean type.

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/ 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

• 241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

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311 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bul'wân, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

- 182 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of
- 241 the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their
- 311 uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of block-ading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

- 241 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, culti-
- 311 vations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.
- 133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there.
- 241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are
- 233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called lbur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean plâ or the Alpine replat. A series of Chieuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^wmi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

• 241 /26 cont./ It
233 involves transport, vast displacements, for which only the rich
556 man is competent. It is therefore not for everyone that it will
permit this incessant "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of our
mountain peasants. Only the notable, fit for long-range con-
flicts, will launch out up there. Agricultural democracy reigns
lower, very near the village, where it persists in its balcony
horticulture. The rich man, through his associate, or his poor
cousins, or his shepherds, tends the confines between cantons. On
these heights, the accords, the dramas, and the truces of an in-
ternational law are substituted for the valley-bottom law, nar-
rowly municipal. Arising there from the contemplation of vast
perspectives, necessary for the flocks, are strategies for expansion
felt and sustained by the group the more because, along with the
cultivations of the chief, it is the possession of the mountain pas-
turelands and the impluvium of the torrents that they put in play.

184 A completely different life style in the depths of the valley.
241 From above, one would call it a patient design, all in curves of
levels. To the fawn color of the walls contrast, depending upon
the season, the bright ocher of the tilled lands, the green of the
young shoots, or the gold of the crops. This whole world of
bright colors and minute geometries, chessboards of parcels,
parallels of terraces, breaks off abruptly toward the heights, at
the groove of a séguia. Beyond, and to infinity, it is schistose
rock, forest, pasturage. On this side bubbles a persevering and
cloistered life. In this island formed by the mountains in the
bosom of the steppe, the village is itself an island. It is the
island of the island. Extraordinary values of synthesis, of con-
centration break through here.

241 The French word balcon /balcony/ quite naturally evokes
the idea of these cultivations that we also speak of as on benches,
or on terraces, or on steps. It expresses well these notches on a
descending surface where a little vegetation is perched on a little
earth, by dint of the man's labor. It is a matter of transforming
into a broken line, into horizontal steps, however tenuous they
may be, the straight inclination /27/ that constitutes the slope.
Through that, simultaneous control of the soil and the

/27 cont./

- 241 distribution of the water for irrigation are possible, and only through that will the water and earth arise simultaneously for tillage. The geographer is quite familiar with this kind of cultivation, classic examples of which can be found in the Orient as well as in Europe. It always evokes an idea of rustic virtues, courage, and work. Incessant labor to combat the descent of the soil, the fall of the water, slow remountings, basket on the shoulder, attentive management with the hoe and the "small tools," art of walls in dry stone: all that on hardly more space than a flower pot or than a flower box at the window of a building! The surprise here is that so much trouble leads only to a fistful of barley or maize. To the dismay of the economist, these "large-scale crops" paradoxically clash with such a minute, such a costly cadre. Is it not economic subversion?

Let us descend farther. The street, it is the torrent. In the best cases, its walls are tiered in successive level stretches, in natural terraces. There are also plains and suspended basins, sometimes quite wide: at Sidi Amer u H'addo, at Tuz'z'umt. Elsewhere also, more poorly. But sometimes the bottom of the corridor amounts to the actual bed of the river. And then one finds that this bed itself is not neglected. Stone walls are erected perpendicular to the current. Comes the flood: there where they do not hold, all is carried away. Thus at Sekrat. Elsewhere, trenching operations try to take advantage of a general declivity, without worrying about the storm that will take away everything. Thus at Imt'ddan.

Infinite trouble, almost gratuitous work, total want of foresight, we would say. A whole torrent-bed agriculture builds and rebuilds defenses, destroyed several times each year. The stone is so familiar: it is displaced, it is replaced with such airiness! Cyclopean propensity, waste of human work. And the kindness of the water is believed in with a blind faith. One will thus make barley and maize with stone and water. The river becomes larger, pulls out everything. But sometimes one will have a windfall of a harvest: barley breaking through on the "shingle," a veritable vegetable explosion. And the montagnard braving the

/27 cont./

241 torrent: ghwan izri, nezdagh nokni, "it passes and we remain" (1).

1. Adage of the a. Lh'sen, who are in fact the ones who have best colonized their asif.

Strong maxim from an excess of courage. Through that, life is exalted, toils, and from time to time feasts miserably.

- 181 /28/ Because this life, so hard, has its flashes. A vigilant briskness animates it. No nonchalance here, none of this languor of the Atlantic plains, doubly influenced by the mildness of the air and the Bedouin fatalities. Everything in these mountains is harsh, contrasted, vigorous. Everywhere, corners and recesses delicately washed out, the depths of valleys chiseled by a hoe, a country cut into vales and cantons. As many signs of man, of a spirit with strong passions, with a patience no less strong. The Atlas is, as one has seen, botanically a Mediterranean island, isolated and anachronistic. It will not prejudice the rest of this study to say already that a certain history and certain social structures would conspire with this aspect of the country so that in the encirclement of the South a destiny apart was assumed.

/29/

III. Concerning the Men

The House (1)

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1. On the house of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, R. Montagne, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hesp., 1927, p. 4 sq., Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le S. du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, pp. 41 sq.; plates and captions in Villages et kasbahs berbères /Berber villages and casbahs/, 1930, pp. 5 sq.; J. Dresch and J. de Lépinay, Le

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/36 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meçfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

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And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

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Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddami, plur. ikheddami, if there are several. But if the division of funds is

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rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt, "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having

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[Idma]

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/46 cont./

remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded. It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

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One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili, at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu. It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.

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A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by re-joining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[361]

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of
the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen,
characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to
the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws
village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The
Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course.
Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic
formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or
pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to down-
stream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which
is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of
fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguilas on both sides of the stream collect the
[241] difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.

But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part
of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That
is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us esti-
mate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each
side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality,
since there are long sections completely encased and, on the con-
trary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit,
gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of
the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper
Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness
strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly
because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The
peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one
zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./

634 open land of the Iubun. The former, political subjects of the
 101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
 133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
 • [24] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
 [233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclitic populations,
 [284] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradic-
 tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
 conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
 district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
 torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
 scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
 steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
 heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
 it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
 thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
 the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
 133 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
 24| abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
 10| olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
 634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
 foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
 potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
 classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
 deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
 of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
 more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
 platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
 exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
 133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
 137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
 101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
 634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
 down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[24] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messâud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir
[764] n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?
[712]

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

- [241) Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins
- [619) of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, formerly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint.
- [794) Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/

The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

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Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^cwân, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart.
 181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an am-
 619 ghar of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Every-
 thing here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the
 pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of
 them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception
 in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most
 profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems,
 its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to
 penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the down-
 stream. The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the
 free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the
 one of the Mérinides, is still distinguished here. From the con-
 fluent of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of com-
 mercial passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of
 monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
 634 bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
 on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
 risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A
 • (241) very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens:
 the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat of Tuz'z'umt, the "background"
Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul'wân. All of it periodically
 [312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguías
 /water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit,
 Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left
 of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops.
 These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homo-
 geneous masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The
 slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under
 the populations of laurels and fillirin, in what the habitués recog-
 nize as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out
 just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country
 can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
 [312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

[Ait Abdella]

- 241 /57 cont./
 312 system, coming either from Agawz or from the Talh'archt séguia,
 361 irrigates the orchard by numerous ditches and runs several mills.
 133 Like Bul'wān, Tuz'z'umt is a rich and large bourg, vulnerable
 634 and cordial. The pisé predominates in its constructions. The
 Tuz'z'umt basin is at the confluent of several ravines. The one,
 closed off by the mound where a zaouia of Ahançal is perched,
 opens toward the W. on the Urkus and the village of Tizi
 Wargyun, which this elevated brow separates from Imintanout.
 (137) The name of argyun, "the argan trees," doubtless indicates a
 former extension of this species to places that it has abandoned
 today, well to the E. of its present domain. The other torrent
 is that of the a. Lh'sen, whose lower part, up to Agawz, remains
 in the hands of the a. Abdalla. The latter still hold a section of
 the main valley, going back up in the direction of Z'init'.
 It is, progressively, another world that begins there. An in-
 termediary world, ravaged by the comings and goings of the
 powers and bearing all its uncertainty still legible in its land
 structures. Upstream from Tuz'z'umt, the entrance into the
 massif confines the bed, obstructed by samplings of multicolored
 pebbles, among them many hard stones and even rounded frag-
 ments of the beautiful grayish granite that is found in the region
 only at the Tichka. Between Imi n-tghli, "the outlet of the
 dew," and Tal'fint, the valley is encased between vertical
 quartzites. Their size increases up to the Awrir n-sidi Limam.
 They force on the river, unable to cut them, continual zigzags.
 Here, little by little, the atmosphere becomes that of the moun-
 tains. The richness and the variety of the cultivated species re-
 call the domain of the a. Lh'sen in certain respects, but with a
 less vigorous accent, less suggestive especially of coherent
 group-work. Magnificent vines cover the slopes at Tiburiin and
 Tal'fint, just as higher veritable woods of pomegranate trees en-
 liven T'abya. Various crops of vegetables, notably eggplants
 and tomatoes, in gardens shaded by giant apricot trees. But
 visibly the bed, which is wide, has been left to itself. In time,
 all is carried away by high waters, unless the pebbles have been
 put to good use, as by the a. Lh'sen, to erect small bastions for
 crops.

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adlar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the mountain
619 villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below. It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The
[343] peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat
[172] (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages.

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/103 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine /Human geography/, t. II, p. 673;

F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 48 (for Corsica).

The projection of the mountain populations onto the plain is often pointed out in North Africa, and in the most varied regions. Outside Morocco, one finds it, for example, to the S. of the Aurès, where, for the Béné Bu Sliman, it has been pointed out by the commissioner of the Sénatus Consulte (report of 5. XI. 88, Aris arch.): it assumes an almost geometrical regularity there.

The plain even attracts, by more facilities offered, montagnards formerly forced into a constant vigilance.

/104/ Now, such a correspondence does not prevail, or no longer prevails, among the Seksawa. Nevertheless in this part of Morocco it seems to have been constant at the times certain European sources evoke (1).

1. Sour. in. Port., t. I, pp. 444, n. 2, 672.

[361] A regular movement between the habitat and the tillage characterizes the tribes in the Portuguese zone of influence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Abda stored at Agawz what they harvested far away. The Chyâ'ma came and went, utilizing the agricultural proceedings to mask a military operation or a political rally. The Cherqîya did the same. A piece of bad news left a void around the conquistador: Nufio Fernandez of Atayde was then obliged to go to hunt for his tribes. As we might say, he sought to "fix" them. Everywhere, the tillage encampment is called D'ar al-h'arth. It is markedly distinct from the principal habitat. This alternation undoubtedly expresses, at the same time as a seasonal rhythm, a human rhythm: concentration for the agricultural work, dispersion in the intervals. The Arab conquerors, the official powers, like that

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121 matched an affluence in piedmont lands (1).

1. It is the sāh'a of the Seksawa, of which Ibn Khaldūn speaks. Cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, p. 382.

When did this affluence disappear? The hypothesis that comes to mind, as one has seen, is that of the anti-Mérinide rebellion of the fourteenth century and of the construction of the fortress of al-Qāhira, intended precisely to block the montagnard chefferie by cutting it off -- and it was ever thus -- from its sāh'a, that is to say, from its clearances. As experts, the masters from Marrakech inflicted on the system a definitive breakdown. They abolished for it one of the terms of this seasonal plain-mountain alternation, of this South-North vibration, which formed the life of the times.

Solidarities for the Water

- 241 The great problem of montagnard horticulture is of a mechanical nature. It is to counteract the blind force of the slope and /106/ to draw life from it. How? A physicist would say: by a tangential diversion tending to the horizontal. From this abstract law can be taken two kinds of complementary techniques. The one of the soil, which breaks the declivity into tiers, often 241
312 dearly constituted. The other one of the streaming waters, which exploits their spontaneous movement in order to spread it in a plane surface either by channels or by direct spreading. These hydraulics tend to substitute for an unutilizable flow, springing from the violence of unexpected water, a calculated module in order to saturate the land to its limit of absorption as much as possible. That is to say that it sets vast distances to work. First, those that the impluvium covers. Then those that the channel crosses to reach the point of utilization. Thus irrigation is a great consumer of space. If it inspires one of the most skillful, most coherent forms of the mountain life, the fact is that it requires the solution of the greatest difficulties of a political, technical, and social order.

/108 cont./

Pastoral Movements

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If the agricultural and landed-property structures of the Seksawa could long since be broken up and truncated on the N.-S. axis, high and low country, it is not the same for their pastoral life. It still spreads amply beyond the edges of the mountains, and even of the piedmont. Why this privilege of the shepherd? Why this discordancy between two economies, not only complementary here -- "tillage and pasturage" -- but completely founded upon each other? The one curtailed, compressed, subdued; the other, breathing in its plenitude of space...

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People have the habit of ranking the Seksawa among the oldest sedentary populations of the Maghreb: and certainly there is much truth in the statement. But, from the angle of livestock-raising, they are transhumants. Moreover, during the winter transhumance, they spread among the Ud Besseba^C. Arabs who still not very firmly settled, and it is they who assume, among these cameleers, /109/ the attitude of the wandering breeder, sponging off the tillage. A change of character that should make one think. This Maghrebi antithesis between nomadism and sedentariness, the two terms of which, of course, are never found in a pure state, but which after all is one of the keys for deciphering the country, rests perhaps only on relations variable with each population considered and interchangeable to a large extent. In certain respects, one is always the nomad, or the sedentary one, of someone. The Seksawa, with their brothers of the western Haut-Atlas, briskly accumulate rights resulting from both characters. And the modest term of "transhumance," created to take account of combinations of this sort, wrongly conceals the complexity of it.

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This latter further sharpens the internal contrasts between the masses, the places, the rhythms of stock-raising and those of the plateau or valley agriculture. This peasantry is old and stable, certainly. But let us be careful about the exiguity of these superficialities when they are compared to the excess of pasturage that the size of the herd calls for. Less than 3,500

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[311] hectares of cultivations, as against livestock amounting to 4,000
bovines, 20,000 ovines, 30,000 caprines. Also bearing in mind
the practice of fodders, stabling, and transhumance, what counts
in the landscape, for one who can see it -- and in any case for
one who sees it with a local eye -- is the domain of the herd.

133
233 This domain starts below the calcareous entablatures that
separate, to the E., the Seksawa from the Dwiran, with the
mamilliform expanse of the Imlilen, an enormous stretch of alfa
steppe wedged into the mountains. Farther upstream, the counter-
forts of the axial chain. The forest there has retreated. Its role
must have been more important formerly than at present. Still
higher, between 2,500 and 3,000 meters, the mountain pastures,
such as the Azur, the Tabgurt, or the Tichka. Three levels of
pasturage, to which should be added a "ground floor": the Ud
233 Besseb^c plain. As concentrated and vigorous, as rich in institu-
tions as the peasant life of the valley is, and as characteristic as
its projection in high crops on the bare domes or the clearings is,
it is the exception, and the pastoral space the rule. Old testi-
mony will help to rectify the view on this point. It is that of
Léon l' Africain /Leo Africanus/. He sees the Seksawa only as
shepherds perhaps, it is true, on the evidence of an etymology,
[114] or from an Italian pastoral enthusiasm: but his testimony is
there (1).

1. Description de l'Afrique, Schefer tr.,
1896, t. I, pp. 222 sq.

Doubtlessly it would be inexact and paradoxical to insist too
much on such an aspect: only putting it back into proportion
interests us.

233
221 /110/ Let us pass now to a second contrast that appears in
the techniques of this breeding, between the solidity of founda-
tions that an ancestral habitude of stabling supposes and the
mobility of the herd. Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect

233/110 cont./ Undoubtedly this mobility does not affect
221 the size of the veritable displacement of peoples which the
[171] Cachâba is in the Algerian South (1).

1. A. Bernard and N. Lacroix, L'évolution du nomadisme en Algérie, 1906, pp. 36 sq., on the sui generis law of Cachâba. Suggestive description of this displacement in E. Fromentin, Un été dans le Sahara / A summer in the Sahara/, 3rd ed., 1874, pp. 229 sq., and the Cl Villot, Moeurs, coutumes et institutions des Indigènes de l'Algérie / Mores, customs, and institutions of the natives of Algeria/, 1888, 3rd ed., pp. 383 sq. Let us add to this magnificent gallery of Algerian studies the work of L. Lehuraux.

or the slipping S.E. -N.W., followed by the fanning out of the ovine tribes of the Moyen Atlas (2).

2. J. Célérier, "La transhumance dans le Moyen Atlas / Transhumance in the Middle Atlas/", Hesp., 1927, pp. 53 sq.

Doubtlessly also it is now a matter only of the transhumance of professionals and not of the whole household, and that confers on the movement an import more economic than social. But that is perhaps only a decline. At any rate this veritable strewing of animals and men, which spreads the herds of the high valleys quite far into the plain every winter, is an important sign. And the contrasts -- at the very least immediate and tangible -- that have just been raised offer a not negligible grasp on the intimacy of the institution.

231 Now let us approach this pastoral life under its most sedentary
241 aspect, in its articulation with the mountain horticulture. Its
[342] liaison with the latter is fundamental. It manifests itself even in the house, where the human habitat and the animal habitat

/110 cont./

coexist. It is a "maison en hauteur" /high house/ (3).

3. This is the expression of A. Demangeon, in his suggestive article on "L'habitation rurale en France /The rural habitation in France/, " Ann. de Géographie, 1920, pp. 370 sq. A comparison is made with an architecture common all around the Mediterranean: our Pyrenean and Alpine south, the western part of the Balkans, etc. A frequent feature there is the second-floor veranda, which we find here in the form of a sort of loggia: the assqqif.

the base of which is occupied by a shady and oblong stable: the agrur, plur. i^wgrar, source of heat and laboratory of manure. This manure, amazir, carefully gathered, then spread on the minuscule squares of irrigation, renews a soil worn out by maladroit immersions and a production always kept going. By that, the Seksaawa peasantry joins the oldest agricultural classicism of the Mediterranean. It is based on a give and take between man, soil, and animal. It thus contrasts in quasi-absolute fashion with the plains agriculture in Morocco, where this liaison between herd and tillage disappeared sometime at an epoch otherwise uncertain, never to reappear any more up to now.

/111/ The stabling, propitious for the preservation of the young subjects, implies coherent care of the pastures: natural and even artificial. In the fields, at weeding time, for example, but also on the slopes surrounding the village, or in the forest, one sees the women gathering, basket in hand or an armful on the back. It is the men who cut and chop the young leaves of the holm oak or of the juniper tree for their beasts: a resource for winter. A whole range of plants is thus collected, and of such a type that a continuity manifests itself between the foods of man and those of the livestock. The difference between "salads" and provender is not great, and the solidarity between them, as soon as there is trouble or scarcity, is transformed into identity. Thus

675 /112 cont./
221 by the users themselves. This is, moreover, not a trait especial-
198 ly Maghrebi. Elsewhere, too, these arrangements reflect an
"old, almost imperfectible technique" (1).

1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne
/Man and the mountain/, 1933, p. 19.

which has struck all observers of the altitude life.

233 A problem that this society presents to us as settled once and
241 for all is in any case that of the marginal relations between the
pasturage and the tillage (2).

233 2. The difficulty of these relations and the
241 historical incidence of these very difficulties
191 is one of the themes of the great work by
Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de
l'histoire rurale française /The original char-
acteristics of French rural history/, 1931.
The same guiding thread, for Spain, in the
study of J. Klein on La Mesta /The Associa-
tion of Livestock Raisers/; for the Maghreb,
in that of Bernard and Lacroix, L'évolution
du nomadisme en Algérie /The evolution of
nomadism in Algeria/, 1905; for Sardinia,
M. Le Cannou sees there the explanation for
the famous system of the "vidazzoni," Pâtres
et paysans de Sardaigne /Shepherds and
peasants of Sardinia/, 1941, pp. 134 sq. On
the "spirit of pasturage," R. Dion, Essai sur
la formation du paysage rural français /Essay
on the formation of the French rural country-
side/, 1934, p. 55.

/112 cont./

233 A very delicate matter in an arboricole country and one which
 241 is attached to goats. Our foresters manage with great diffi-
 625 culty. In the montagnard customs, the problem is resolved
 by an institution of municipal police, that of the amchchard'u,
 plur. imchchurd'a, personage whose word is trusted and, through
 that, adhered to unanimously by the users. This institution is
 of a delicacy and a sensibility contrasting strongly with the
 contentious nature of our analogous institutions: rural con-
 stable, forest warden, or game warden. But it implies an
 order, preliminary and subagent to the commutative law. By
 that, this society resolves one of the most difficult problems,
 that of the relations between the breeder and the plowman, a
 problem that all Semitic civilizations have had to deal with,
 were it within the dramatic species of the conflict between
 Cain and Abel.

233 /113/ On the mountain pasture, constructions in dry stone,
 221 crowded into sometimes complicated networks, adaghas, plur.
 34 indughas, mark a regular installation. Their commonly given
 Arabic equivalent is ifzib. The land documents give another
 doublet, minhal = asggun, plur. isg'wan, "transhumance en-
 closure." These edifices stand in characteristic fashion the
 brows such as that of the Tasila, Tichka, Azur, etc. Thus it
 is that on the Tichka the idughas of Igenfis, for example, con-
 sist of very low constructions, with dry stone walls, with a roof
 of branches filled in with sheep dung. The whole is unstable
 in equilibrium and collapses from time to time. From the
 first cold spells, the shelter becomes insufficient, and the
 lambing suffers losses; the stay in the mountain pastures must
 be curtailed, it is time to go back down.

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675Practice of the agg^wmi, "pasture in defense"

Name of the <u>taqbilt</u>	Name of the village	Place of pasture	Duration of the placing in defense	Comments
I. Geryun.	The ensemble.	Tichka (also called Tuchka).	From snow-fall to a <u>yulyuz</u> date conventional among tribes.	International pasture.
a. H'ad-duyws.	{ Tasa. Fensu.	Amerdul. Aziwal.	March-July. --	Custom of the <u>talddrar</u> .
Iguntar. a. Lh'sen. a. Mh'nd.	{ The ensemble.	Talbur n- H'sayn.	--	
Idma.	Asikis.	Agersili.	--	
Imt'ddan.	{ Ad'erd'ur. Anchkir.	Tasila. Inraren	-- --	Custom of the <u>talddrar</u> .
	{ Tasselli. The ensemble.	Tameksut. Afuzar.	-- --	

221 This short-term transhumance, where one does not leave the
 233 limits of the canton, is a sort of amplifying commentary on the
 241 valley-bottom life. It takes place at the end of the summer and
 [634] lasts as long as possible: until the rain and frost are heaviest. In
 a general fashion only the shepherds take part in it. But the
 proximity of the village makes the visits of the master frequent.

/113 cont./

221 In one case, it is even the family as a whole that executes a sea-
233 sonal displacement. It is a matter of a part of the Idma. Spe-

241 cifically, of the one from the oldest village, Usikis. Once the
[634] harvesting of the /114/ ground of Agersili is done, the people go
as a family to summer in two villages of "bordes" /small farms/
or "burons" /shepherds' huts/, as our Pyreneans say, Twurirt and

[361] Agadir n-Tsila. Huts of dry stone are massed on the side of the
[346] mountain, on the right bank of the depression. They affect the

form of villages, which appear in ruins to us, but which are in-
221 deed lively and each has its timezgida. A life of milk products

[262] and the consumption of young barley then starts, profoundly
marking this period of the year. It is the only case where this
form of summering in the mountains is fully observable. On the

neighboring pastures of Amerdul, the people of Tasa (a. H'ad-
duyws) make only an incomplete application of it: only the
shepherds and the women come. An ethnological study pushed
further would undoubtedly end on the summering of Asikis /sic/,
on one hand, and the functional specialization which restricts
that of Tasa, on the other hand, with revealing images of the
pastoral spirit of these people: a general atmosphere of merry-
making, of a concentrated and reconciled social life. The con-

[273] sumption of the young ears and the abuse of the whey provoke a
[832] sort of drunkenness, which occasionally has toxic and, for cer-
tain, sexual effects. It is the period called talddrar or tamakhirt.

[574] The greatest manifestation of this general gaiety is the feast of
the Tichka, officially reorganized some fifteen years ago, but
according to an old intertribal tradition.

233 The movement of the Seksawa livestock is not summed up by
221 these summer displacements to the mountain pastures. A rhythm
648 of greater amplitude, and which could more accurately be called
transhumance than what precedes, animates the high-mountain
herds. Under the doubtlessly reduced aspect that the evolutions
of the livestock in Seksawa know at present, they nonetheless
constitute, on the scale of the present life of this society, a con-
siderable movement. After having followed, from S. to N., the
bed of the river, the stream diverges in two main directions. A

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II. Matter and Outlines of Peasant Work

The Field and Its Personality

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Old and profound idea, the one of the field. A millenary tradition colors it with feeling. Studies as rigorous as that of a Rounpel can be wrapped in lyricism without, for all that, losing contact with science. Many generations have sought in the Géorgiques /Georgics/ both the most exact rules of Mediterranean agronomy and a charm which, far from depriving the exactitude of the discourse of anything, amplifies and extends it. This rare conjugation between "poetry and truth" is explained by the synthesis that is brought about by intellectual, practical, affective values, where rest the earth, man, his tools, his history, his solemn or familiar life. And the basic element of this synthesis is the field.

But what is a field, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (1)?

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 359 sq., on the different names for the "field."

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Would it be the individualized domain, continued in the time and space of the Romans? Or the long parcel of the Nordic plains, tied into clusters by the obscure agreements of the open field /italicized words are in English in the original source/ (2)?

2. M. Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française /The original characteristics of French rural history/, 1931, pp. 21 sq.

Or the same soles of strips /Fr. soles de lanières/ discovered in a completely different milieu, and undoubtedly amidst completely different environments, by Weulersse, in this Near East muchaf^c.

/121 cont./

241 whose appellation (but not the reality) reappears among the
171 Chleuh /Shluh/ (3)?

3. C. r. of the book by Weulersse, "Le pays des Alaouites /The country of the Alaouites/," Ann. hist. soc., 1943, III, pp. 116 sq.; Latron, ibid., 1941, p. 122, and 1943, III, p. 117, n. 1.

Or the close of woodland, which paradoxically evokes by certain traits, despite its dryness, with its woods and its enclosures, the H'sh'a country? Or the Mediterranean saltus? Let us stop at this last form. (It is so appropriate for Maghrebi antiquity that one of the first lines of research that one might imagine would be to check to see if anything in the present reality of the Moroccan South corresponds to it. But one can affirm without fear that, comparison for comparison, it is /122/ not to the saltus, but to a diametrically opposite rural form, and which the magnificent aerial photographs of the Constantine limes have restored, that our observations would instead make one think of in this part of the Atlas.

Nothing will appear closer to the ensembles of parcels "in a honeycomb" (1)

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 173 sq.

discovered by the flight over the Roman fossatum than the analogous ensembles, irrigated by a whole arborescence of ditches, of our high valleys. Doubtlessly, there and here the problem is not identical. The techniques described by J. Baradez would apply even better to the subdesert plain or to the Dir than to the montagnard horticulture. But the form of the grounds is there. Same agglomeration of minuscule quadrilaterals downstream from a basin. Same art of the bank of earth cutting and directing the development of the waters. Let us stop at this superficial

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(114) analogy, quite justly proper, if one wishes, for adorning the account with images, and without posing the question that immediately comes to mind. Without discussion, J. Baradez attributes all this technique to Romanity. What one might conclude from the present historical account is that in a completely different part of the Maghreb, champion of African isolationism, analogous forms flourished. What differences, besides! The centuriatio is, in these confines of the African Romania, the very basis of the agglomeration of parcels. The exact boundary, the geometrical cadre, and the art of the land surveyor are necessary complements of the land. There is nothing more contrary to the notion of a boundary that our montagnard has. One could almost say, not without some paradox, it is true, that the limit of the field is not at all topographical for him, but is of a completely different order, which we are going to try to define.

At the antipodes of these montagnard parcels, let us first examine the field of the soft Moroccan Atlantic plains: in the Ghârb, for example (2).

2. J. Berque, Études d'histoire rurale maghrébine /Studies of Maghrebi rural history/, 1938, pp. 11 sq.

Here the agrarian unit is appropriately the social force, whose visible sign, and at the same time the unit of measure, is the zawja, "harnessed by tillage." A diffused landscape, a great excess of arable land, very anciently cleared, seem to oppose to the development of property only the exigencies of rival developments. A neutral milieu, where theoretically each one spreads out to the extent of his strength. It expresses in itself a liberalism of competition. One conceives that in such a milieu the boundary of the land may be shifting, retractile. If the field is cleared of stones, the stones are grouped in piles, kerkur, k^werkur, not on the /123/ periphery, but in the interior. Now this pile quite frequently assumes a magico-religious function, that of maqām, "mansion." At the end of this evolution the

- 241 /123 cont./
171 Semitic baetulus is glimpsed. It can be contrasted with the Latin God-Term.

241 The lower valley, at Bul^Cwān and Tuz'z'umt, where intercalary crops are spread quite widely on two levels very well marked, almonds above, olives below, possesses several enclosures. The wall of dry stone, ad'erras, occurs frequently in the country, for all sorts of uses.

[92] The most interesting names for the "enclosure" are agellay and urti, this latter word having multiple acceptations. But the form becomes rare as one penetrates into the middle valley. It is hardly in accord with cantonal egalitarianism. It implies larger facies than are offered upstream, and also a kind of life that is no longer that of the rich man of the mountain. It cannot be counted here as a type. Even in the lower sector, moreover, it squares with completely different conceptions: one will see it apropos the ground of Bul^Cwān itself, which, however, constitutes the extreme concession of the Seksawa system to the matters of the Dir. There, as at Tuz'z'umt, one can move about for a long time under the almond or olive trees without seeing any discoverable limits in the topography, really marked out materially.

Second type: the crops of the thalweg sprouting up in the masses of small stones and claiming a precarious existence in the autumn floods. Very often, parallel bands are marked by ranks of blocks. Clearing away stones contributes to the establishment of boundaries and embankments. Sometimes with great difficulty. The least freshet puts everything in question again. Remarkable examples may be observed facing Bul^Cwān itself. They bear an Arabic name, lulja: bottom crops, risky crops incessantly lost, and begging for nourishing moisture from the inundation that ravages them. In the higher valley, in a. Lh'sen for example, the system becomes more original. One finds, on one hand, the island of fortified blocks, reinforced by trees, and, on the other hand, the crop of long submersion. That is a matter of a form a bit special: agriculture of chance and exception, that of these akrium, where human effort indefatigably recommences its humble edifice before the menace, but also the benefit, of the

/123 cont./

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[312] water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

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613 Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

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423 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uwu^c, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchu^c.

/124 cont./

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423 And that with a juridical clearness capable of still imposing a distribution among ikhs-s when the acuity of the competition or the exiguity of the land no longer permits the former system to function to the general satisfaction. In a. Lh'sen the word lghimer, plur. lghwamer, is used to designate something like the zone of legitimacy of a family or of a piece of ground (1):

[192]

1. Elsewhere in Sekuawa, and also in Dem-sira, etc., the Chleuh /Shluh/ word az'lag, plur. iz'lagen, is used. Transposed to the echelon of the collectivity, this idea of competency or clearances is not far from that of much^C. Let us also add, as proceeding from the same "prelaw" basis, that of ad'erg, "route of passage for the animals," Arabic medwez.

in general a geometric projection of the latter on the neutral space that borders it, fallow land or forest scrub. And it will not be our least surprise to bring the word, thus interpreted, into harmony with this ghāmir that the land documents of the /125/ Moroccan North oppose to the ḥāmir, as the agriculture in force is opposed to the agriculture of document, or the eminent vocation of a piece of ground in individualized possession.

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This field of the albur is much larger than that of the valley lands. About ten times larger, on the average, if one believes the evaluations of it made at the time of the successoral divisions. It is, on the other hand, completely penetrated by savage nature. Delivered up in turn to fallowing and to cultivation, to fallow land, to pasture land, to adventitious plants, it is not clearly separated from the space that surrounds it. Finally its juridical vocation, its form, the techniques that it calls for vary in terms of the altitude. These classifications by height are a speciality of this mountain society. The tectonics and erosion have brought about there, perhaps even more than elsewhere in this part of the Atlas, a relief by successive levels. The ground floor of the plain of the Dir, the sometimes spacious trough of

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• 241 the beds of torrents, cut by progressive edges, the vast grassy epaulement terraces, answered by the acuity of the axial chain: each of these tiers inspires a new figure of the field, of the agriculture, of the law, and of the customs.

But to this world of horizontality thus contrived by nature in the bosom of the mountains is opposed another where the vertical, the oblique, the overhang prevail. It is that of the irrigated ground, constructed by man. It is all in redans, circumvallations. Walls and terraces, scaling the slope, superimpose their small, careful planes. The ensemble contrasts by color, character, toponymic density, and human presence with what surrounds it. There is the major type of this economy and also of this history. The irrigated ground is not only a material substrate. It is a social symbol (1).

[121]

1. In the exact sense defined for this term by G. Gurvitch, La vocation actuelle de la sociologie /The present vocation of sociology/, 1950, p. 74.

241

Let us observe the ensemble called Bukhemsin, where each group of the a. Lh'sen has its share. It is spread out on the left bank, between Awinas and Buteghradin, at mid-flank of the ascent, and is made up of two planes, which the path cuts diagonally. We are in March. A luxurious vegetation of barley is already starting to form ears. No break in the mass. Only by sweeping light do some differences in level appear there, depending upon the amount of manure that the different owners have supplied. It is with difficulty if an expert eye distinguishes in a quarter so homogeneous the 150 parcels that compose it. Such a distinction, to one who has no preconceived idea of it, proves impossible. It is at the very base of the barley stalks, and completely hidden by the sprouting, that /126/ ideal boundaries creep: abstract lines, of which only the angles are indicated by a modest stone driven into the earth, awutta, plur. iwutta.

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[423] Only the quarter has a personality, in the toponymy as in the landscape. But it is not united by appropriation, unless one sets it up as a "collective field," which one could not do without abusing the expression. The parcels that are discerned there indeed arise from a molecular ownership, if I may venture to say it. But they hardly have any topographical existence. They are only crumbs of patrimony.

Divisions and Organs of the Field

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Quite abstract as it may be, this fractioning plays its role. But its strength is not tied to a material demarcation, to the consistency of an area. It is connected rather to a verbal affinity. Such and such parcels, dispersed within the ground, are reputed to be the legitimate portion of such and such a family. This qualification is their only defense. There is nothing more striking at the time of legal disputes over boundaries. What is affirmed in the procedure is not the concrete value of a limit, it is, so to speak, the autonomy of a cell. Quite a difference from the Mediterranean type of the *fundus*. These parcels are defined less by a spatially determined cadre than by the fitting in of one having rights among others having rights. Aided by the modicity of the areas, the identification of each is not local, but onomastic. The names subdivide a quarter, which is itself a division of the ground. Similarly the *taqbilt* is divided into subgroups, which are subdivided into families. Toponymy and anthroponymy are thus combined to form, with the help of other factors, a diversified and tiered system which is defined by the hold of verbal classifications on pieces of country, by the association of names with pieces of ground.

(634)

Let us grip more closely the identity of this patrimonial cell that the parcel represents. In general, it is a minuscule quadrilateral inserted among a multitude of others and defined by this very insertion. Its area is of a modicity that is astounding.

/126 cont./

Several experimental measurements give as an average:

Inheritance of the <u>lkhs</u> of the a. Watchaw (a. Musa) . . .	30 m ²
-- si Abdallah u. H'ammo (Taselli)	45 -
Sheik Wakrim u. Lh'fij H'fid' (ibid.)	70 -
Chkku Family (Imt'ddan)	26 -
Ground of Agersilli (Idma)	102 -
-- of Z'init' (id.)	200 -
-- of Tabratjut (a. Musa)	75 -

241 /127/ Such an exiguity, aggravated by the dispersion over areas occasionally exceeding a kilometer in length, creates a thousand technical difficulties. No less than irrigation, it imposes the meticulous work of the "hoe," agelzim. At any time of the year, they are but bent-over peasants, "interrogating the earth," to return to a magnificent classical expression, and rebordering the smallest ledge of the relief, the smallest angle of the periphery, in order to spread there the windfall of the water. Though the quadrangular form is common, the agriculture does not neglect the minor forms. Thus, the "peduncle" of humus, ad'ar. All the same, a "redan," tighmert, sometimes remains abandoned. But generally, except for the cases of rotation of soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/, as at Agersilli or the a. Mh'nd, the space cultivated in the channel is full, without fissure. That is the very characteristic that opposes it to the spaced spots of dry cultivation, visible on the hill from afar. These fields are of irregular form, while the irrigated parcels, aligned in balconies or compressed into a damp and almost juicy bottom, are fractioned only abstractly and according to a system of four orients, of an onomastic nature.

But this exiguous parcel is often a composite itself. Depending on its area, and whether or not it is level, it may be fractioned into "lobes," tisirit or tirit, themselves divided into "squares" of irrigation, uz'unen. Or else the emptying ditch will open directly onto one of the latter. This divisibility may also result from the exigencies of cultivation by water, or from

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the market-gardening or cereal objective. Many varieties, indicating initiative and individual possibilities, come to diversify here, like the deposit of manure, the continuous and homogeneous band that the bench supports. But that will be evident only with the results, after sprouting. At this moment, as one has seen, the marks of appropriation are buried under the verdure, but the ensemble seen from above gives the effect of a patch of scales. The shades of green, like the germinative power, differ according to the subjacent property. A practiced eye can then decipher the whole network of land.

Thus the hierarchy of organs described above is formed in this way from the base (1):

1. For the Chleuh /Shluh/ nomenclature of these different forms, refer to our "Glossaire notarial ... /Notarial glossary .../", R. afr., 1950.

- the square, first technical unit;
- the irrigation bed, grouping several squares (optional);
- the parcel, first cell of land, grouping several beds or squares;
- /128/ -- the quarter, topographical, social, and technical unit at the same time, grouping a certain number of parcels served by one intake on the ditch, but possibly spreading over several benches;

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- the ground, topographical and political unit: a piece of landscape appropriated by the agriculture of the group, and distributing, as one will see, among the different quarters of which it is composed, a well-regulated sampling of the patrimones of the ikhs. This ground is itself fashioned into "countries," with the habitat of the group, put together or cut up, and its hold over the soils and plants, more dense in the bottom of the valleys, more scattered in the ilburan (plur. of albur) that vertically hang over the village, embedded in the montagnard silva.

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423 In such a system, the privative appropriation comes down, according to the modes peculiar to the irrigation, to the most passionate individuation of the work and of the feeling, of the trouble and of the persistence of the man, therefore, of his rights. Completely to the contrary, the dry cultivations, extensive and intermittent, are done in the muchâ^c or muchû^c, a type of collective. But these two types together contrast with the disposal of the forest or pasture, regulated only by political rights and the international balance. Nevertheless, within the irrigated ground itself, an order regulates the parcellary distribution. Qualifications of birth and of kinship are more essential here than boundaries and, one might say, than the compost itself. This plot, almost bare of matter, acts as and above all counts as the illustration of civil status.

178 This perhaps explains the tenacity of this man with his complications, with his deficient methods. Everything takes place, on this historical mole of the old, sedentary civilizations of the Maghreb, as if a peasant society were seeking, in the economic paradox, the exercise of itself.

Magic or Technique?

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789 Human work does not only have to reckon with the resources or the resistance of the milieu. Beyond the waters, the soils, the plants, it must reckon with a benevolent or malevolent power, diffused in things or being specified in figures. And the appreciation entertained for the activity of the peasant group will be very different according to the scope of spontaneity, of conscious bearing, and of efficacy that it arrogates to itself in relation to the invisible friends or adversaries, and according to the degree of existence that it recognizes for them. There has been a great deal of insistence in Moroccan ethnology on the "magic" character of /129/ the agriculture. In this regard the work of E. Laoust offers a store of information. The "mort du champ" /death of the field/ and many other ritual deeds are described there, with reference, if not to the Seksawa, at least to the nearby Mtugga, among whom characteristic harvest-customs have

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/129 cont./

been noted. The necessity of restoring to the soil its energy, its baraka, to expulse or to keep away from it the evil forces -- these "deux pôles de la croyance populaire" /two poles of popular belief/ -- animate rites and ceremonies which "constituent, en définitive, le fond de la vie berbère dans tous ses domaines" /constitute definitively the foundation of Berber life in all its domains/ (1).

1. E. Laoust, Mots et choses berbères /Berber words and things/, 1920, p. 321.

A serious hypothesis, which this is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to infirm or confirm. Imbued with the then recent theories of Frazer, following the book by Douffé on Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/, which was the first attempt and the master stroke of this sort of investigation in the Maghreb, the inquiry by E. Laoust also has merit because of the linguistic curiosity and an ethnologists's intuition, which remain models. But on this second level it has hardly been continued. All motives of individuals aside, there is something a little disturbing there. It can be said in one sense that these interpretations, to which it is necessary to add, for Morocco, those of Westermarck and some of those of H. Basset, constituted an end point (2).

2. The book by Laoust appeared in 1920. That of Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, in 1926; that of H. Basset, Le culte des grottes au Maroc /The cult of caves in Morocco/, in 1920.

They have inspired in younger researchers admiration, defiance, and lassitude at the same time. A result undoubtedly regrettable. If there is little chance of adding, in Moroccan matters, discoveries other than detail to those of these great seniors, certain problems are posed, hardly touched upon up until now, and which a critique, were it immodest, would at least have the merit of

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789 • stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.

Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the opening of the tillage at Bwabbūt' generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific [778] ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

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789 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for

/131 cont./

The Agricultural Calendar

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Despite the wild irregularity of the rains, despite the element of constancy introduced by the irrigation, the peasantry of the Atlas remains faithful to the notion of agricultural period. Undoubtedly a question of vegetation cycles: the growth of barley takes six months; that of maize, three months. And probably also, a question of high waters and of low-water marks. In this country without lasting snows, the reduction of the sources forces the crops to adapt to the diminution of the supply from May to September. It is thus with good reason that one can follow here the classical description of the unfolding of the campaign month by month. /The rest of this subsection, up the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./

Chutanbir (September) is a prelude. If it rains, one takes advantage of it for tillage, in spite of the date of the "favorable tillage," amud ih'allan, which does not come until 17 uktuber (October). The earlier the sowing, the more abundant the harvest, thinks the montagnard, not without reason. "September, get busy," the proverb whispers to him: chutanbir chuch t'ebber.

[539] In any case, it is the time when the fertilizer, the farming implements are prepared. /132/ One knocks down the walnuts, one gathers the Barbary figs. The livestock breeders of the high cantons keep their herds in the mountain pastures: they will hold them there until the time of the hibernal transhumance, except in case of excessively bad weather. In 1951, September ended [796] with the schura or amāchur. Fire rites, water rites in the villages. People jump over braziers, they sprinkle themselves with water. In some a. Lh'sen villages, they strike each other with azzunt'i, nettles. Rite or game? The celebration releases an epidemic of marriages and legal proceedings.

Uktuber, classic month for the opening of the cereal cycle. The rain falls, the torrents are aroused. Wa-nna iran amud, [539] yasi-t-ann, "whoever wants to sow only has to do so." The 17th [178] inaugurates the sowings: just a generation ago, no one would have dared to violate the regulation. Contemporary experience

/132 cont./

221 has proved that it was better to take advantage of the rain: "but
241 things have changed." The amghar, a substantial cultivator, de-
178 plored before me that this principle, which he deems of religious
essence, is being transgressed more and more, while the practices
of the opening of tillage, with the distribution of dry fruits,
breaking of bread, etc., which he devoutly qualifies as idolatry,
laqnam, continue to be favored. The more so as they will not
run counter to any economic opportunity. The good old times
are disappearing.

221 Nuwanbir, "November." Except during the unfavorable
241 period of the thirteen days of lqāleb, the tillage continues. From
October 17th to December 10th, there is the "early" cultivation,
amenzu, then the "middle," arbfī. The harvest of olives begins
in a. Lh'sen, a. Abdella, a. Musa.

[539] Dujanbir. "There is December: the cold closes discussion,"
Dujanbir aya ikks us'emmid' awal. This society is actually badly
equipped to bear it. Snow covers all the heights. After the tenth,
however, the "late" cultivation of cereals, amazuz, begins. In
principle, it lasts up to February 20th, in Seksawa country and in
the plain. Sometimes even much later, even into March, and
almost up to the first harvests: such is the immorality of the game
that the hazards of the climate impose on the cultivator! The
[233] montagnards continue to send their animals into the plain. Sta-
bling for the bovines, pasture in a short radius around the village
are the lot of those that remain.

[796] Yenneyr, "January." After the immemorial ceremonies of
the solar new year, the peasant who has finished his sowing rests:
inna ira ku-yan ikk, "wherever he wants to, he may go," pro-
claims the dictum, which omits, and for cause, the patient spots
to be weeded, unfortunately too little favored, and the care of
the plantings. The latter go on all alone, as people believe.

[539] And nevertheless the shrewd man knows that the campaign is al-
ready advancing: tlekmek tafukt n-f'wbrayl, a-yamekraz
n-yenneyr: "Beware of the sun of February, plowman of January."
The time has come to begin to clean out the ditches and to cut
the "green barley," âg'las, for fodder.

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[233] F^wbrayl, "February," will decide the fate of the campaign. The proverb assures igh tswa gh-f^wbrayl, ar kullu tjjint lmrayr, "it rains in February: healer of troubles"; dry February: aggravation. For the livestock breeder, the milking starts. The "whey," aghū, the "butter," udi, come to the point /133/ to permit "la soudure" /the welding, the union, the joint/ between the provisions that are exhausted, the souq /sook/, which becomes dearer, and the still uncertain harvest.

[233] Mars, "March," begins the sowing of the early maize, millet, still grown occasionally, and garden vegetables. The epoch of the planting is finished. The shearing and the castration, both very primitive, are undertaken. Notably in a. Abdella, the effect of the first warm weather helping, the harvest, if I may venture to say it, will ripen in succession: hardly a pause between the amenzu and the amazuz. In the high cantons, the [539] persistent coolness dissociates the two periods. March is absolutely decisive: mars as-tt-id ih'ya, negh tt-inn iluh: "it vivifies or loses everything." Other significant dicta, mars imerc ten-d a^wkk, "March brings them all together" (the course of the seasons), or: inna mars i-yiran: ggawrat igh enngligh: "March says to the other months: Peace you others, if I proceed well."

[539] Ibril, "April," the harvest starts officially on the 15th. In the plain at least. For the mountain always waits. This is what a picturesque adage expresses: ibrin gh-uzaghar, ih'una berren gh'udrar igh-d-id' er ugherd'a zegh-tgejda ibbaqqi gh-wakal. "From the boiling in the plain, from the emptiness in the chambers of the mountain: if a rat falls there from a joist, it remains on the square of ground." "Beneath the bundles" of the barley itself, the maize n-ddu tadla appears to be the best. The cultivation of vegetables is intensified: eggplants, tomatoes, gourds, turnips, at least wherever this variety still prevails. The a. H'adduyws give their mountain fields an irrigation and harvest what they have in the plain. Inversely, and since March, the first grains harvested in the plain were used to seed the soles /Fr. sole, in agriculture, the expanse of arable land intended for a certain crop in the annual rotation/ of barley of Agersili, free

/133 cont./

221 of their snow. Generally, from the middle valley going upstream,
 24 this is the time, the rivers visibly falling, when one begins to
 312 put water in the séguías. Up until then, each one served him-
 self at his discretion, where the rain, or moisture owing to the
 long snow-cover, did not make all irrigation useless or detri-
 [233] mental. For the livestock breeder, it is the return from the plains
 transhumance. Continuation of the shearing and castrations in
 a. Abdella and a. Lh'sen.

Mayyu, "May": it is barely spring in the high cantons,
 where the cultivation of early barley starts about the 15th. The
 [233] livestock breeder sells his wool and standing animals. He is sus-
 picious of the morning pasturage, when the dew hides lghechch,
 "the spearwort." From the 1st to the 13th, it is "the Aldebaran,"
ddabaran, an important moment in the agricultural rhythms. One
 considers that after this time the fructification of the almond
 trees is definitive; this entails many consequences in the customs
 and the "judiciary year."

Nunyah, "June," marks the beginnings of the maize harvest
 in a. Abdella. The cereal grower must have sheaved all of his
 harvest on the threshing floors. The 14th, which coincides with
 the celebration of lñçrt, closes the sowing of late maize.

Lulyuz, "July," sees-nearly everywhere threshing, irrigation
 of the maize, cultivation of the turnip, carrots, and now pota-
 toes. The gathering of almonds starts in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa.
 [233] After the 10th, the livestock breeders of the high cantons reach
 the mountain pastures. They will remain there /134/ somehow or
 other until the hibernal descent, despite phases of stabling.

Ghucht, "August," month of winnowing. The maize is har-
 vested in a. Abdella, a. Lh'sen, and a. Musa. It will not be
 done until October in the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. The peasant
 busies himself with the irrigation of his turnips and his carrots.
 The olive trees fructify. But it is also, in general fashion, the
 [574] season of the great gatherings, of the patronal feasts whose cycle
 embraces all of the western Dir.

[820] Month of closing: mayuh, nunyah, lulyuz, wayyahu; ghucht,
 [539] uhu. "May, June, July: keep going; but August: done." But it is

/134 cont./

221 also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan
241 iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy."
821 A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that,
[539] even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still
conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the
dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond
blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree,
without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfold-
241 ing of the campaign with the succession of the different activities.
171 It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar
with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes
(1)

1. Cf. notably Rivi re and Lecq, Trait 
pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de
l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture
for the North of Africa/. 1928, t. II,
pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North
African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural
generalities on the region).

221 reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu,
241 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to
182 altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each
harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between
the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The
different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among
superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a.
Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap
for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "ver-
tical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization
of Seksawa space neglected.

/134 cont./

Division of the Agrarian Functions

121

In the matter of descriptive ethnology, let us be suspicious of the present narrative saying in French: "les aït X font ceci ou cela" /the ait X do this or that/. And let us be suspicious above all if it is a matter of Chleuh /Shluh/ who have, in order to respond to this kind of question, the well-known "habitude mode," used to render the repetition or the intensity of the verbal idea, but, let us be /135/ sure, without the least preoccupation with statistical control (1).

1. This error in shading appeared at the time of the translation of the first Moroccan texts assembled by S. A. Boulifa and has become a law of the genre.

Where the informant thinks: "there are people who . . .," the ethnologist records a general rule, to the delight of the interpreters at second hand. And nevertheless it is of very great importance whether the practice is the act of the ensemble or indeed of the majority of the group, or only of a qualified specialist or indeed of an aberrant one.

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(121)
- It is this sort of verification that we have devoted ourselves to concerning a question already dealt with by the authors (2):

2. Pointed out for the first time, it seems, in what concerns Morocco, by E. Laoust, Mots et Choses /Words and Things/, p. 313. For the general "ambiance," cf. also E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in Morocco, t. II, Ch. XVI.

that of the agrarian initium, itself sometimes but not always linked to that of favorable or unfavorable days and of seasonal rites. Interesting differences between families reveal themselves, and it is thus of great interest to know up to what point of generality this practice is observed in Seksawa. It has not kept there,

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796 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation," etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water. Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqui: these are the a. Umetjar. Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

4. Idma:

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[613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agerilli on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lw'li on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Mess'ud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

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[613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. [578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; [262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Mess'ud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Uf'ir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; [578] battle by blows with clumps of grass. [262]
[541]

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- 241 9. Ibuban:
746 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.
634 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uñli; harvest
184 from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.
Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations:
a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.
Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; har-
vest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Ali Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lāsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacri-
fice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lāsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amserdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a.
Wārab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wārab. Custom
of the amāchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a.
Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amāchur as above, for the
a. Çalh' only.

Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lārj
[783] (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of
amāchur for the a. Bihi.

Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest:
[783] a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amāchur,
penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Abdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth,
habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the
initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the
a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high
mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military ex-
peditions.

121 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these
241 practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that
746 ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very
fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead
one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to
them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

/137 cont./

- 121 veritable statistical and philological analysis could undoubtedly
 • 241 illuminate. There is obviously no question of such a study here.
 796 Only a few facts have been pinned down, by right of invitation,
 796 in a way, for a specialized study.

241 The qualification of one ikhs to inaugurate certain group
 796 activities, agricultural mainly, but also military, is established
 613 in all the high cantons. On the other hand, it is wanting in a.
 634 Abdella and a. Musa, which should not be surprising, in view of
 [184] the harsh history of these two groups, vulnerable to the foreigner.
 The initium can thus be ranked, with all sorts of other material
 or spiritual traits that have turned up in passing, among the com-
 ponents of the montagnard physiognomy. A differentiation ap-
 pears between two or three ikhs-s, each having its particular
 vocation. The richest example is offered by the a. Mh'nd, but
 also by many a. Lh'sen villages. These divisions in fact happen
 as often at the echelon of the village as at that of the canton, but
 one cannot discern the reasons for these inequalities in dignity.

[184] To a certain extent then, the local factor, producing narrow par-
 ticularizations, on the scale of the hamlet, for example, lmud'a,
 acts on the foundation constituted by a social and political
 life whose organ is the taqbilt. Ancient trait, or recent evolu-
 tions?

241 /138/ It is very difficult to discern the reasons for the choice
 796 of such and such an ikhs for such and such competence. Naturally,
 613 the role of the unexplained is great here, by definition. Never-
 [554] theless the case of the Ih'muchcha in I. Geryun, of the a. Ikru in
 Idma, of the a. Bumellut' in Ibuban shows that this choice has
 nothing to do with political prestige.

In fact, that is a matter of descendants of conquered popula-
 tions. It is rather the idea of powers attached to the antiquity in
 the country, the idea of legitimacy, that is evoked then. In
 other cases, however, nothing like that. What comes into play
 seems to be the vestige of former ritual personalities that have be-
 come inexplicable. Their etiology is sometimes sought and gives
 rise to legends. That is the case of the Idma: it remains

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613 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).

[777] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/", "Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

171 are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in Sekawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

/138 cont./

171 the traditionalist have one, each in his fashion, and /139/ manifestly none of them feels bound by the group. An important nuance. It happens that, defying the Berbère /Berber/ enthusiasms of our ethnology, the Arab populations display a wealth of customs much more general in application and more ardent in belief than our montagnards (1).

1. This is evidently an impression, which statistical analysis should cross-check.

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184 Thus there are the games of the night of amāchur (ar. /Arabic/: the ^CAchūrā): the cho^Cala of the Ud Bessebā^C redden the plain, whereas the tijuffa of the Seksawa, and especially of the Dwiran, are evidently rarer and less frequented. This celebration, that of the prophetic Milād and of the Aid Lkbir have moreover served as connecting links between many native rites and the orthodoxy that legitimates. Thus, the a. Abdella make the fires of amāchur a reminder of those that Abraham miraculously survived, when he was thrown in by Nemrod. The distributions of dry fruits, when the tillage is set in motion, are general in Seksawa, but tinted with an avowed nuance of fancy and gratuitousness: they "do good," nothing more. Of two neighboring cantons of the Nfifa, in the Dir, the one, the Amejnas, scarcely knows but a tiny minority to practice this custom; and the latter, immediately next to it, in the Wād l-lbūr, experiences, under the picturesque name of jawjaw, a universal and warm application.

Thus one finds, from taqbilt to taqbilt, from village to village, for these different orders of facts, the most diverse degrees of generality, of affective intensity, and of "sacred" coloration. But this degree is never completely that of the rite. Nor further is it ever only that of simple folkloric amusement, as still not long ago was the case among us for the fires of Saint John /Midsummer Day/.

What is striking in any case, or should have struck the observers where the practices of initium prevail, is precisely the antithesis between the incertitude of their content and the clear

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functional divisions that they evoke here and there. Today, in themselves, they are no more than a heteroclitite mass of facts breaking out of context. What remains of them is precisely the unequal distribution that they express between groups, or, within the group, between ikhs-s. Their extreme erosion, often reaching -- but not always -- the stage of folklore, often also preserving some ritual emphasis, discourages a general interpretation. At the very least, these inequalities, in their constancy or effacement, their generality or rarity, let two things be glimpsed under them. First, a plurality of persons. And, on the other hand, among these persons, certain relations observed better and better /140/ as one penetrates into the montagnard privacy. These relations, finally, are perhaps the vestige of old links between the structure of the groups, the agrarian life, and a magico-religious division of labor between the collective subjects. But the vestige is being effaced under the reconstructions.

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Here one arrives at a very important idea -- as will be seen -- for the rest of this study. A complete enumeration has been necessary to establish it. Will it be necessary to make the present chapter heavy by other monographs? Permit us to refer to the publications where we have treated the two subjects whose development should logically come at this place.

First we have shown (1)

1. "Un glossaire notarial...." R. afr., 1950.

to what point the dry agriculture of the Seksawa contrasts with their irrigated horticulture, by the connections that it preserves with the spontaneous flora. Alimentation has not been completely separated from gathering. The profusion of edible plants, revealing man's efforts at appropriation in the natural milieu, contrasts with the monotony of the cultivated varieties. The latter have been subject to the influence of history. In particular, it is probable that maize, from the sixteenth century, has been substituted for millet as sole of spring; it has made this old African crop, bound up with the use of the hoe, retreat. On the

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241 other hand, one ascertains a curious inversion of the characters of
121 cereal cultivation and market gardening. While barley is intensively treated by being irrigated, the turnip competes with the maize in the rotation. If the village peasant really does not have a vegetable garden, he is familiar with only, if one can say it, "large-scale crops" on a reduced model. Such a study was necessary for an understanding of this society. For the plant life surrounds the life of the man and of the citizen. What exchanges between the one and the other of these two realms! It is impossible to assign, in this botanical milieu, defended by the solitude or the altitude, a part that might remain completely screened from the stamp of the "son of Adam." Despite the careful demarcations that operate the technique, the ethics and history, nature and society interpenetrate each other.

43 But the work of the group is not expressed solely in these re-
121 lations. Others, more mediate, more abstract, appear (2).

2. J. Berque, "Recherches sur l'histoire des échanges dans le Haut-Atlas occidental /Studies on the history of exchanges in the western High Atlas/, " Ann. hist. soc., 1953, n. 3, pp. 289 sq.

The principal one is the one that the movement of money expresses. This society has been monetarized profoundly and anciently. The exportation of almonds and other mountain products is attested to /141/ for at least two centuries. It has undoubtedly balanced the alimentary deficit of the Haut Atlas, its dependence on the plain, by the importation of money. But this undoubtedly provoked a paradoxical inflation which exacerbated, in this milieu already so inclined to mercantile debate, the social inequalities and the agility of the contractual life. A complementary economy, and, in certain respects, a rival of the peasant economy, thus came into play. The consequences of the debate between the one and the other will be grave on the structure of the groups as well as on the individual psychologies.

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III. Compartments and Levels of a Rural System (1)

1. This idea of compartments and levels arises from the hypothesis that the Moroccan agricultural system is not one; that there are divergences or shiftings between its different branches. It will be difficult for me to specify in this hypothesis what belongs to me or goes back to my friend J. Couleau, an agricultural engineer. As early as 1946, in fact, in a study that we wrote in collaboration, he proposed the idea that, contrary to our own peasant system, the native cultivation of cereals and raising of animals in the Moroccan plains did not originate from any synthesis, but, in sum, developed independently. This fertile idea came into my own research. I have every reason to believe that the recent analyses by J. Couleau in his work in preparation on L'agriculture indigène dans la région de Fès /Native agriculture in the region of Fez/ will return to this hypothesis in a great profusion of agronomic and social observations.

Routines Or Techniques?

241 The first glance at the Seksawa agriculture turns up many traits of advancement. The refection of the lands is being pursued there jointly with the administration of the water. A close relationship between the exhaustion of the humus by the plant and its renewal by the manurings is perceived. The latter are the object of a care maintained all the more as the practice of the submersion of the planches /Fr. planche, bed, border, land between furrows/ and a tendency toward abuse of the available module constantly dilute the soil. Experimentally, more or less manure or water visibly affects germination. All of this horticulture is to be placed under the badge of labor, of courage. It could not be

/142 cont./

- 241 otherwise in a country of channels and slopes, a country of scarce soil, and of domesticated rock.

A radical difference from the dry agriculture. An estimate of the annual number of hours of activity required by the one regime or the other would undoubtedly furnish decisive elements. One would have there a quantitative expression of the difference of the human rhythms. But it is impracticable in the present state of our knowledge of Morocco (2).

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2. And nevertheless how useful it would be at the time when the "watering" of the immense areas dominated by the new dams approaches in the Tadla or the Doukkala. If these researches still seem unbroadened in Morocco, one might refer to a geographical milieu, the Spain of the regadio /irrigated land/, for which the following precise details are given. In the dry, an average of one person occupied on the hectare; in the irrigated, nine more. Naturally, the alimentary productivity /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ is related to this density of the human population: the value in calories of the production in the irrigated is about proportional. Cf. José Terrero, "El regadio en la España peninsular /Irrigated land in peninsular Spain/, " Estudios geograficos, No. 39, May, 1950, p. 254. In Algeria, the number of annual days of employment is estimated in the dry from 14 to 18 (cereals); in the irrigated, from 21 to 25 (cereals), at 175 (fruit trees), at 175 (market gardening). Cf. Compte rendu de la journée technique du 10 mars 1951 de l'Association des anciens élèves de l' I. A. A. /Account of the technical day of March 10, 1951, of the Association of the former students of the I. A. A./, p. 10.

/142 cont./

- 241 Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

[184] A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even
312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that
128 of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine
simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy
does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan
plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world
that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such
techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949,
pp. 174 sq.

/151 cont./

312 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala,
804 plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or sub-fraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'aqt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authenticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahim, Uḡl az-zirā'a, al-Qāhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

- 312 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

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312 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter
241 difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But
more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water.
The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully
distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen
or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-
house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that
applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and some-
times to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa,
En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf.
also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure
is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate
consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that
it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt
even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent
why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in ex-
cess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the
depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is
drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient,
imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also con-
tributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of
deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its
matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature,
which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only
aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnif-
icent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treat-
ments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the
yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of
collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times
of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/152 cont./

312 be delivered by penury or by the affluence of lands. The first dries up the ditches, effaces the tiers, leaves only relics in place: ruins inhabited by demons, black and contorted trunks of former plantings, thus in the former domain of the a. Gasa. But affluence inflicts the same disasters (2).

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2. When we are better equipped to investigate the subjective notions that flow from these features of the economy, one will perhaps be led to analyze the particular idea that this society has of the "measure" /see p. 22/: it is the life of the horticulturalist on tiers when he escapes the inconveniences as well as the gains of oppression. Another important notion in this order of ideas: the publicity of the field, exposed to the eyes of the commune, but which must not excite envy or the "evil eye." Whence, in certain respects, the disposition of the ground.

241 That is the way that the acquisition of arable lands in the plain,
178 an infinitely more profitable formula, and perhaps also responding to a montagnard atavism, has noticeably had effects on the slopes that surround Z'init'. This decadence responded, at the same time as to the opening of new possibilities in the plain, to that of the place of asylum, where formerly numerous refugee families had to brave an indefinite siege. Everywhere, today, the benches have fallen away on the walls. The notches that were formerly seen very high on the flanks /153/ of the Tamjlocht and of the Mzawt barely pick up the vertical noon shadow.

The historical factor, the psychological factor clearly stand out from this privileged example. But other causes, less tied to the event, are also at work. The deforestation, for example, the ruining of the soil. A striking contrast between the principal valley and those of Taddert and of the a. Lh'sen, which encase it on the W. and on the E. For reasons difficult to discern, the com-
post of the slopes here have resisted better than there. It remains

/153 cont./

241 covered with small bushy growth and fodder plants that have dis-
178 appeared elsewhere. The land has remained richer and does not
affect from afar the glossy polish that shows among the trees of
the Mzawt. The decadence of the soils and the ruin of the high
fields are obvious in the principal valley. Upstream from Lalla
Aziza, a cemetery of almond trees. Downstream, notably near
Imt'ddan, visible abandonment of the fields in balconies, which
climbed two-thirds of the way to the crest, and the plaques of
albur on the elevated brows. A color of the soil, a different vege-
tation, characteristic "screens" still mark these places. One reads
there the effects of a former deforestation, which doubtlessly had
a definite cause. There doubtlessly an accumulated play of
natural and human factors to ruin this historic axis of the Seksawa.
But beyond individual causes, there is a permanent one for it: the
vulnerability of the system. Neither benches, barriers of pebbles
and branches, nor ditches of earth withstand a moment of weak-
ness or forgetfulness. The loss of the high pastures soon entails, by
the rarefaction of the livestock, thus of fertilizer, the sterility of
the soil. Internal discords immediately engender drought through
the abandonment of the ditches. This system, skillful but posed
rather than anchored on the soil of the ancestors, then submits to
the ransom for its precariousness: it dies without even leaving
great traces. This horticulture exists only as an exception.
Lodged in an eternal cadre that makes one see permanence where
there is only ingenuity, it is slave at the same time as ruler of man.

A Distributor Genius

312 Collection; irrigation: between the two, a phase of purely
social emphasis, that of the distribution. And all the more es-
sential because the milieu reveals on this occasion a dazzling, an
exorbitant virtuosity. One distinguishes at least three styles.

312 The first method, the one most bound to the montagnard
613 closeness, is that of the gentilitial distribution. Disregarding the
423 losses by infiltration, escape, evaporation, it leads the water to
all the fields /154/ of one ikhs, even if they are far from one an-
other. And as a general rule they are. It thus passes over the

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/footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

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and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

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Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

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First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul'wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

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[162]

In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/160 cont./

24) and lferd, the following distribution:

	a. Abdella	a. Lh'sen	a. Musa	Imt'ddan	Idma	a. Mh'nd	a. H'adduywa	I. Geryun	Total
Two-beast plow	287	76	58						421
One-beast plow...		273	12	63	293	57	145	141	984
Totals	287	349	70	63	293	57	145	141	1,405

The distribution is regulated according to the line of the slope. Upstream, only the lferd is known. Downstream, only the zzuja, which is logical and expected. For the intermediate taqbilt-s, let us go into more detail:

	zzuja	lferd	
a. Lh'sen :			
Tnbrajtut	11	13	
Tmesdakht	5	8	
Awinas	10	1	
Agadir	6	3	
Ighilon	9	11	
Bateghradin	2	22	
Iwulla	2	30	
Wanz'id'	3	28	
That is	48	116	for the a. Lh'sen properly speaking.
Iguntar :			
Tugehza	8	22	
Tanammert	1	5	
That is	9	27	for this vassal taqbilt.
Ibuban :			
Talburat	2	20	
Amasin		18	
Timskert		16	
Tugg Lkhir		12	
That is	2	66	for this other vassal taqbilt.
Sekrat :			
Amsgerdat		26	
Fumazir	5	10	
Tageddut	4	8	
Tigumma n-Skrat	8	20	
That is	17	64	for this other vassal taqbilt.
a. Musa	58	12	

241 /161/ The limit of these two types, or rather their fringe of
407 interference, can be clearly figured by a line that would follow
492 from E. to W. the small plain of Tabratjut, downstream from
184 Z'init', and the valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. This symmetry is
all the more remarkable because it does not correspond either to
a difference of agricultural richness or to a change in the availa-
bility of surface. For example, it is certain that the affluence of
soil is indeed greater in a. Mh'nd than in Iguntar: but the latter
has zzuja-s. It is thus a matter of something other than the
simple play of physical conditions.

241 This impression is confirmed by the fact that this threshold of
192 tools is duplicated by a technical and lexicographical threshold.
184 In the mountains, the word tirit or tisirit designates the planche of
irrigation, edged with borders, smoothed, prepared for the water.
In a. Abdella, the same word designates the initial "marquage"
/marking/ of the fallow land (1)

1. Summary bibliography of this obscure
notion in J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial
arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e siècle)."
R. afr., 1950, p. 372, n. 11.

241 before sowing. The common practice is in fact that of immediate
sowing before plowing. From that one understands the sense of
this checkerwork, or rather of this carving in parallel lines, the
whole of which affects the form of a grill and which one sees di-
viding the work fields in autumn. A demarcation for the casting
of seeds, a discrimination perhaps between zones where the density
of the grain will be more or less forced -- and one knows that in
Moroccan agriculture these variations can go from the simple to
the double, depending on qualifications of the soil most often ob-
scure to our agronomy -- all of that is understood: it is as well a
technique that is conscious and defined completely by the fellah.
But, in the Gharb, where the grib, "first plowing," most often
precedes the sowing, and where the direct cast, cala uje, is
practiced only on the sole of sorghum, bernicha, the preliminary
technique of the marking also exists. In this way small squares or

/161 cont./

- 241 mr'fra-s are brought about, whose explanation is absolutely not perceived by the peasant.

The requirements of the circulation of water, this whole art of planes, declivities, furrows, develop the agricultural modes for the irrigated. For the dry, on the contrary, they are limited, as everywhere in the rest of Morocco, to a scratching for burying in the ground, well adapted moreover to the nature of many of these fields.

(171) Nevertheless, one practices the loosening of the compost by dressing, tkerbil or tneqqich, around the olive trees, but without using a special tool, as is done in Tunisia and even in the Aurès.

- 242 The imperfection of the system is manifested in particular by the rusticity /162/ of the rotation of crops (1).

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1. Let us compare it, for example, with Roussillon, M. Sorre, Pyénées méditerranéennes, 1913, p. 304; with Andorra, Brutails, Étude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 5 sq.; the Valencian huerta /irrigated region/ and the instructive rose of cultivations figured by Brunhes, op. laud., pp. 56, 65, 66; J. Caro Baroja, Pueblos de España /Pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, pp. 401, 423 sq. (interesting bibliography on irrigation).

- 242 Even the name of what might correspond to it among the advanced agriculturalists of the Gharb or of the Doukkala, the bernich, is known by only a small minority. It is to be noted, however, that a piedmont amghar cites in this regard, but in Arabic, a disabused axiom: lberninch ih'iyyed t'innich, t'innich ma ldir lberninch, "rotation would eliminate poverty: but poverty is incapable of putting it to work." The lack of available

/162 cont./

242 space excludes fallow land in the irrigated. But it is practiced in the dry, in a system of ample and loose rotation, being combined with clearing and burning. Adage: ad assiki ij'j'i, "fallow land" /Fr. jachère/. or rather, "untilled land /Fr. friche/ enriches."

Generally, two campaigns are combined in one. To the extent at least that water resources let one anticipate the success of a spring sowing, it is maize that follows barley on the same parcel. Or even the turnip, cultivated on a large scale. One can (191) only compare the mediocrity of this binary method with the crop rotations of five, six, or seven terms, where barley and maize are included with the green bean and tobacco, in similarly montagnard milieus, like the Mediterranean Pyrenees. One will see to what point the scale of crops is poor or has become impoverished in Seksawa. As for the blocking of two campaigns into one, it is supposed to proceed from the exiguity of available land. Far better, one draws from it glory, and system. Nothing is as good, one says, as "maize under sheaf," asengar n-ddu tadla, that is, that sown even before the removal of the loose sheaves. It is true that one thinks that fertilizer will mend everything. Two larger sectors, such as Agersili and a. Mh'nd, hardly practice a movement by biennial soles. But the problem is doubtless not reduced to that of usable space. In the approaches to the plain, at Bul'wān, for example, there is similarly a superposition of maize on barley, without the excuse of the exiguity. The rotation practiced at Agersili and in a. Mh'nd, and only there, seems to respond to an ensemble of conditions, among them a character of plenitude and of integrity of the montagnard system, rather than to an agronomic conception.

• 241 However that may be, the exhaustion resulting from this exploitation without respite is combated by the fertilizer. Manure and water are the two /163/ great remedies, object of a passionate care, of an attention without relaxation, and of an administration without measure. One deems that will remedy all the misfortunes of the milieu, aggravated by the defects of the method. Universal expedients. The fertilizing of the soil in Seksawa is a rational practice, and the advantage that results from it evaluated in terms

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/163 cont./

- 241 of mercantile economy. The case is all the more striking be-
- 44) cause, in the old rural order, a number of things are removed
- 237 from commerce: milk, for example, which is never sold, and
- (675) straw, which is carelessly left on the fields. But the animal ma-
- nure not only forms the tacit counterpart of the pacts of trans-
- humance or of common pasturage, but can even give rise to
- ciphered dealings.

[692] These particularities appear in full light in an arbitral decision of the fqih Belwâh', of the Bas /Lower/ Demsira, a magistrate whose montagnard appurtenances (he was born in the wild valley of the a. Mh'nd u Musa, which the Bwibaun separates from our a. Lh'sen) render very revealing judgments of the view of a milieu intent on compromising between the law and the ancestral custom.

691 It is a matter of litigation between a sâkin, "a precarious
692 resident," and the master of the house, who suddenly asks him
237 for a rent of equivalence. The other one retorts by demanding
427 the price of the manure of his beasts. The fqih, by dint of citations from ^cAmal, came to establish that the first demand was unjustified, and the second one justified. He knowingly refers to the rural custom, which does not recognize rents for this kind of installation: without doubt (and although this is unavowed) because such pacts depend upon the clientele and thus contain a deep antinomy with the contractual law. On the other hand, it is not at all the same for animal manure: this is a commodity, which comes to the owner of the animals and, on the other hand, cannot enter in as a gracious counterpart of hospitality.

237 Such a case in point gives a measure of the importance that
24) fertilizer assumes in this system. The great suppleness, if I may
(191) venture to say it, of the European peasant economy, to wit, the correlation between livestock breeding and cultivation, is thus found again here, evident and calculable. The accumulation of
(342) the manure in the stable, agrur, often arranged on the ground floor of the house, its handling, and its being placed in piles before the tillage of autumn and spring, its dispersion on the field: so many practices to which the high-valley cultivator devotes

/163 cont./

237 himself with ardor. Necessarily, they express inequalities of
 241 means, for all do not have the same effective force of animals
 for stud or in the stable. Consequently they diversify this agri-
 (554) culture. Much more than food or clothing, it is /164/ the fer-
 tilizing of the land that indicates the social hierarchies here.

242 A beginning of a science of fertilizers is appearing among
 237 the better peasants. They are familiar with the "manure hole"
 or even collect vegetable waste and fecal matter in their agrar
 and make a sort of compost out of them, in a propitious humidity.
 They differentiate according to origin. The manure of ovines is
 the "warmest": its effect lasts for three or four years; that of
 bovines, they say, is "colder," is of value for only one campaign.
 Some, shaping with a pickax the solidified layers, which some-
 times accumulate for several years, to form a carapace immense-
 ly appreciated and which is called afghyus, add them up in super-
 imposed beds: between two layers of the manure of ovines are
 spread layers of the manure of bovines and Equidae. This flaky
 mass, this is already advanced agronomy. It is observed, among
 others, in a. Mh'nd.

But why must it be that, as in the matter of water, the con-
 tribution of the precious substance is compromised by the pro-
 cedures of use? This society is only familiar with manure long
 exposed to the sun "in small piles," s-tgud'iyin, in quincunxes on
 the field, and which remains there indefinitely to await the rain.

241 This belief in the virtues of insolation curiously reappears at the
 237 time of harvest. The "loose sheaves," imadaghen, stay in the
 fields for long weeks before being transported to the "threshing
 (343) floor," anrar, plur. inraren. After which -- at least on the Dir
 -- the straw will be transported anew and ensilaged in small huts
 of dry stone, called aqerbus (1).

1. Tagud'it, "the small pile" of manure, is to
 be compared with the etymology given by
 G. S. Colin for aqerbus: Lat. acervus, "the
 pile." This parallelism in signification is not
 without interest.

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When there is an abundance of these curious silos on the plain, punctuating the esplanade of stubble fields whose individual ap-
purtenances they mark, the ensemble from afar gives the im-
pression of a material spangled with press-studs. However that
may be, this going-and-coming is so uneconomical that one is
tempted to compare it, as to origins, with some rite of exposition
of the fruit on the soil or of appropriation by signs. It is cer-
tain, in fact, that the virtue of a manure subjected to such in-
solation is weakened. On this point the peasant of the Dir is
behind the one of the Géorgiques /Georgics/.

Livestock Breeding and Arboriculture

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At least he shares with him the belief in the perfect sponta-
neity of the tree. While he devotes a whole book to the vine, the
poet disposes of the olive tree in a few words: contra non ulla
/165/ est oleis cultura... and he passes to the trees and wild
bushes furnishing berries and leaves. Similarly, let us remember
that the Seksawa are people of the forest. They do not conceive
of the cultivated tree as discontinuous with the tree of the tagant,
with which it is so often mixed. Common species make a transi-
tion between the one type and the other: for example, the carob,
with precious pods. To a lesser degree, the oak with the acorn,
which nourishes animal and man, and the modest and obliging

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opuntia aknari. The forest, in a way, is the place where two
techniques, and two spirits, are joined: livestock breeding and
horticulture. And it is not because of a taste for paradox that the
present section was entitled with a binomial of terms that would
clash so much in the European conception. For the latter, in
fact, the animal is the enemy of the tree. Especially the goat.
We are not in the coastal zone where the argan tree sometimes
tolerates, and without perishing, the so amusing trimmings of
animals browsing on its foliage. But here even the ends of young
branches, the acorns, the juniper berries, fresh or preserved,

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Crop Variety

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Monotony in the cereal cultivation: barley and maize. Monotony in the arboriculture: almond trees, olive trees, and walnut trees. And monotony in the market gardening: turnips and carrots. Other crops may interest us: that of millet in the irrigated, by its residual character (1);

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1. On the replacement of millet by maize in the sixteenth century, cf. J. Berque, "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 405 sq. Cf. also M. Sorre, "Les céréales alimentaires du groupe des sorghos et des millets /The alimentary cereals of the group of the sorghums and the millets/," Ann. Géo., 1942, pp. 81 sq.; D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 40, on the millets that are wild or have become such. One finds some in the S. of the Drâ (Salvy, "La crise du nomadisme dans le S. marocain /The crisis of nomadism in the Moroccan South/," in CHEAM, 1944). With this very African crop of millet had to be associated a tool, the hoe. Cf. L. Febvre, La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922, pp. 345 sq.; A. Leroi-Gourhan, Milieu et techniques, 1945, p. 125, on the prodigious adaptation of the forms of this tool to the societies that utilize it. Our milieu is familiar with several of them: achaqur, agelzim, etc.

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that of the lentil in the dry, by its victual interest; that of alimentary flax, by its evocative archaism (2).

2. D. Faucher, Géographie agraire, 1949, p. 302.

/174 cont./

233 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering,
241 irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a
182 hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to
which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these
archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of
all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in
which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs
could have been a rural life more widely master of the North
African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its
periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator
of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator,
evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a
kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the
difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribu-
tion of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus
released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to
a logic of adding value.

121 Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known
171 that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open
[233] field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/,
it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation
for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we
/175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such
an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not
stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking
the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits
of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this
case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much
modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation
more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the con-
trasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean
traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences
which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

[Ait Mh'nd]

166 /180/ Moh'ammed u Ah'med n-a. Umzil (45 years old) has
159 been settled since his youth at Bul'wān, as a client of the amghar. He has built himself a house and is considered a man of the country, although his wife is also from the a. Mh'nd. He considers himself permanently established. Similarly, his relative Lh'sen u Ah'med, although he still shuttles to and from the mountains.

Addi u Moh'ammed n-a. Umzil (55 years old) has been at Ilutjan as khammès since his youth. One day he married a woman from Ilutjan and acquired some lands at the place. He nevertheless returns to the mountains each year in order to buy walnuts.

His relative Ali u Moh'ammed (50 years old), who similarly married at Ilutjan, lost his wife and has been married again to a compatriot. But he has kept some lands at Ilutjan, where he is permanently established.

166 This report, made on the spot by L. Robine, who should indeed find here an expression of my gratitude, gives information on about a dozen individual cases. The same inquiry, carried out at Taftacht in Chyād'ma, gives another nuance: that of people naturalized earlier in a foreign tribe, but still preserving more or less this landed and sentimental tie with the village of origin.

However that may be, and even being a matter of the limited sector at the outlet of the Seksawa in the Dir, this emigration, thus fixed at different moments of age and antiquity, does not fail to illustrate the essential mobility -- arrivals and departers -- of the population in the western Haut-Atlas. But this mobility modifies neither the basic rhythms nor structures.

Improving the Ground

• 241

The a. Mh'nd ground, in relation to the rest of the valley agriculture, constitutes quite a strong unit, as the figures below prove: cereal cultivation, irrigated, barley, 50 ha. -- maize, 25 ha.; dry, barley, 32 ha. Arboriculture: 1,590 almond trees irrigated, 5,750 dry; 2,230 walnut trees. Let us add a stock of 195 bovines, 470 ovines, 720 goats. Sign of affluence: 14 mules.

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To each of these activities, irrigated crops, dry crops, livestock breeding, correspond organized sectors, among which some

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

- 241 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm,
233 and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor,
but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of
the group.

Livestock Breeding

- 233 From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters,
221 one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the
[361] year. As in all the Sekawa, stabling, with prepared fodder,
[184] mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns
and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pas-
turing is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the moun-
tain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is
placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the
Amezniir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from
June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in de-
fense, ig^wmi, represented in many other cantons of the Sekawa.
Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder,
and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

- 241 If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the
311 crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields
[243] extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land
[132] of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable,
even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to
momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing,
311 the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^wmrin, or simply
[103] tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of
the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the
Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlin,
Anrar^w-Waman, Naftjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Mh'nd]

/188 cont./

312 n-dar uzerg, t. n-talat nnur (accessory, collects the streaming
423 water).

312 The irrigation mechanism has been dealt with above. It on-
423 ly functions, or in other words the water roster, tiwaliwin, only
goes into effect, at the time when the low-water level, at the be-
ginning of the dry season, imposes regulation. Thus it is this
physical factor that will impose recourse to the rhythm of distri-
bution. Similarly, and within each portion, in case the module
is insufficient to irrigate simultaneously the ensemble of those
having rights, there will be a drawing of lots among them. It is
still this pure question of fact that will determine whether or not
there is a possibility of cultivating on the stubble fields after the
barley harvest and of laying out the market gardens. On the other
hand, what does not depend on outside circumstances is the bien-
nial crop rotation, by alternated soles (Fr. sole, expanse of arable
land intended for a certain crop in the rotation/ of barley and
maize, which we see here. This movement bears on only four
quarters, which are, to tell the truth, the best irrigated ones and
like the heart of the ground: Twuttyan, Taçddut, Tighermin,
Amegdul. The figures given above indicate that the crop rotation
functions over some 25 ha., that is, over half of the ensemble of
the irrigated crops.

Comments on the Parceling

613 Over all the expanse of the irrigated ground, each ikhs is rep-
423 resented by several fields in each of the quarters. Without excep-
tion. Despite sales, female inheritances, pledges, usurpations,
etc., this rule /189/ still stands out from the perusal of a parcel-
ing established in 1948 (Fig. 8) and about which it is advisable
to state that it is the work of a young agricultural engineer unin-
formed about the custom and consequently not suspect a priori.
In the numerous cases of the rrahn-s, he evidently noted the pos-
sessory situation. One will also observe -- and this deformation
is interesting -- that the four superadded ikhs-s were indicated as
being mingled with those of the basic ikhs-s, which are in a way
1, [For figure 8, see pp. 261-262--Analyst]

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

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Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talat wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

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The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, agder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talbur, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg'erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

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This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^wUsikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseq-qalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u, Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Ilarzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other sub-branches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/196 cont./

423 In either case, the analysis of landed property thus leads to
613 the question of the relation of the families and of the minor
ikhs-s, between them, on the one hand, with the genealogical
memory of the taqbilt, on the other, and finally with the
landed and agricultural structure. A complex and obscure re-
lation, but, very certainly, a relation.

The Quarters

311 Relatively precise measurements give, for the irrigated part
423 of Agersili, 42 ha. Thus, each of the 27 quarters covers on the
average 1.55 ha. A considerable size in the high-mountain
economy; it is triple of what we observed among the closely
[103] neighboring a. Mh'nd. On the other hand, the toponyms are very
clear. One realizes that from the list above, which does not
leave room for any etymological speculation, but simply notes
the meaning immediately perceived and translated by the user.
This list includes, besides the 27 quarters, 48 other names, which
are the subdivisions of them. There are chances that the enumer-
ation is not exhaustive. But there, too, the impression of a
density with meshes larger than for the a. Mh'nd, expressing
more freedom of space, asserts itself. These subdivisions into
quarters do not enter into consideration, it seems, for the play of
the soles, characteristic of Agersili. Their true nature is thus
more complex, and doubtlessly destined to escape us. They are
perhaps the trace of an earlier system, more refined and where
the sampling of the lots went still further. Perhaps, on the con-
trary, they offered historical arrangements only a raw and pre-
existent material.

/197/

Agriculture

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The average area of the parcel is 120 m^2 on irrigated land:
on that, one can arrive at a fairly exact approximation. This
figure has a symptomatic value.

[Agersili]

/197 cont./

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The second striking trait, and which has already been indicated, is that at Agersili, as in a. Mh'nd, and only there, the area is judged sufficient in order for a crop rotation dealing with barley and maize, but accessorially also with the turnip, to be practiced. On one of our tables we have entered indications gathered over a five-year cycle. That is not very long. But, cross-checked with the local tradition, very affirmative on this point of technique, this rotation may be considered as established. There comes out very clearly a two-part cadence, the classic Mediterranean rotation, with intercalation, if I may venture to say it, of a six-month fallowing: everywhere else, in effect, two campaigns, one of maize, the other of barley, are superposed in the same year. Besides the relative size of the available land, the delay on the cultivation of barley that the annual snowfall imposes at Agersili is perhaps responsible for this slackening of the agricultural rhythm. It seems, however, that there is nothing to that. Another mountain ground, in the Aziwal, practices late sowings (March). Elsewhere, on the contrary, at the same altitude, one sows at the usual time, that is, before the snow falls. That is notably the case for the a. Mh'nd.

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Let us add that, in summer, the harvest of barley and the milking of the animals, which then feed plentifully on the stubble fields, provoke a general displacement: short in terms of the distance covered, but important because it concerns not only the herd but also the families. They establish themselves in the two villages of dry stone that we have observed. The disposition of the crops in continuous soles makes this grazing place possible. In return, the herd fertilizes the earth.

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The system is thus well contrived. Its size helping, and also the privileged character that it draws from its belonging to the victorious village of Usikis, the most prestigious of the Idma villages, one can recognize in it a veritable classicism of montagnard agriculture.

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C) Rural order and fiscal attraction: Z'init'

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This is the holy place of the Seksawa, their asylum, lh'orum. But it is to be noted that its inhabitants, ministers of the cult of Lalla Aziza, do not descend from her. They are neither chechref, "shorfa," nor ig^wrramen, "marabouts," but only lfoqra, "beadles," whom no prestige distinguishes from surrounding populations. With their profane origin, they are to be respected less than the descendants of Sidi Mh'nd of Ammern, or of Sidi Lh'sen of Asttif, although their saint is the most venerated one. Doubtlessly that is a trait of equilibrium or of instinctive reserve of the group with regard to the political dangers that an overly powerful lineage of "marabouts" would have caused to pursue it.

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/198/ When one considers the zaouia from the escarpment of 1,000 to 1,200 meters which commands it, one notices, downward and downstream from the village, a cultivated terrain called Tamazirt, of some ten hectares, which is reminiscent of the form of the Ile de la Cité. It is divided into sections by channels and paths, then subdivided into more or less large quadrilaterals, all differing from one another by the strength and color of the vegetation, that is, according to the cultivator's wealth in fertilizer.

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Several quarters: Imi-n-tankt, Ddu-wgadir, Takriwin, Imi-n-talat ulili, Ddu tgumma, Tibh'irin, Aghella, Imi n-Tzennu, Iwanghasen, Dar ukhyam, Lefçça, Igd'ayen, Talmechmacht, Amkuku, Ddu-rrma, Akhferga, Tizergi, Tamsult, Tamsult n-a Uâziz, Talburt n-teg^wrramt, Imi-l-lqus, Ddu-wmedduz i-yghd, Fefgun, Amlal n-talluzt, Tawnaght. These 26 quarters, each having only an average area of 40 ares, are dispersed in a mass of individual parcels, of which one counts about 500. Whence an average unitary area of some 200 m². That is not as microscopic as one might have expected. The parcel is relatively extensive in comparison with the quarter, itself abundant and

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exiguous. But that is perhaps a consequence of the rather

[Ibuban]

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[137] dangerously close. To the N. and N.-E. it is still covered by a forest of holm oaks, junipers, and lentisks, where the villages have had to clear a place for themselves parsimoniously. To the S. the lands of Iwulla almost reach as far as the village of Tugg Lkheyr, hanging over it by the Awrir i-ysemgan, "the hill of the Negroes," with colossal populations of opuntia. To the E. the country is cut not only by the valley of the asif n. -a. Lh'sen, but by the high brows of the Amuddur (2,075 meters), through the Wanz'id' possessions which advance to the north like a duck's bill to rejoin the /208/ domain of the a. Lh'sen "of below" (Awines and Buteghradin). The pasturage is so restricted, especially on the side of the Ameznir, that these schistose slopes are delimited among ikhs-s users. This notably at Tugg Lkheyr and Timskert, where this division of the sterile wasteland appears to have been pushed to its last degree and to have developed a whole red tape of documents of ownership.

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613 Yet this mutilated sector represents a reordering, due to the intervention of the "caid" Lmokhtar, for whom one will note the topographical strategy, adroit at reserving for his what we call the lines of communication. Formerly, the a. Lh'sen of Awines had occupied the Ibuban. The present inhabitants, of heteroclitite and successive origins, settled by way of purchase. But the avarice of these driven-back populations enabled them to overflow it anew on the, not political, but juridical plane. They bought lands from their neighbors from Ammern and a. Musa, in the Ilikri.

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[242] Nothing more precarious seemingly than this country without water. Barely two or three miserable sources, all just suitable to give drink to the villages and to support, at the price of a long-term rotation (12 days for three ikhs-s at Timskert, for example), a few poor patches of gourds and onions. The only resource is that of the streaming water. It nevertheless appears considerable in case of heavy rain. The reserves of the soil, long stored, then liquefy. One has barley for four or five years. Or one waits for the storm, rrāda, which in general at the end of August marks the time of the musēm of Tamarut, in Demsira, to "carry off" a

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[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserving a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggyzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

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And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folklore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency. The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

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[Bul^c wân]

/212 cont./

18! a transition /213/ between the mountain culture and the plains culture, is duplicated there by a political threshold. Politics has almost immediate effects on the Maghrebi structures. Power is, in different respects, an economic phenomenon. It entails rapid and visible consequences on the landscape: either by the elimination of the little ones, or -- and the case is frequent in the South of Morocco -- by aspects of systematic valorization: plantings, for example.

245 In fact, the grounds of Bul^c wân and of Taqennurt present in their lower part beautiful and old checkerworks of olive trees, under which are cultivated intercalary crops. It is the formula of the "park" or of the "closed garden," agellay. Above the denivellation that the Talh'archt channel follows, almond trees are similarly massed. This division by "wooded masses," which one also characteristically finds again upstream, at Tuz'z'umt, a. Wagenna, etc., undoubtedly does not correspond solely to agronomic opportunities. It is true that the olive tree requires more water and an alluvial ground, while the almond tree, on the contrary, puts up with dryness and stones if necessary. But even more this division of species obeys a rural order, more and more perfect types of which are found in Seksawa as one approaches the high mountains. What makes one think of a regalian influence in the formation of the olive plantation is its homogeneity, which undoubtedly shows an initially controlled effort, and its regular growth. One might make the same verifications in Nfifa at Imintanout, in Mtugga at Kuzemt. For this last planting, we perhaps shall get to localize it in history. But what is to be said about the olive plantations of Taroudant or of El Kelfa?

a) Fuq Bul^c wân

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311 A few figures: about 2,000 olive trees and 5,000 almond trees. Irrigated autumn crops: barley 20 ha., hard wheat 6 ha., soft wheat 2 ha. Spring crops (but without rotation order): maize 12 ha. This plaque of about 30 ha. is divided into quarters, that is, from upstream to downstream: Talilit, Ikorkar, Dar

[103]

[Bul^cwân]

/213 cont./

241 tgommi ufella, Talat l-lâin, Lh'arch n-a. Belh'ajj, Agellay
311 n-Ali u Mançur, n-a. Benjâa, Talburt, Lh'arch n-Bihi u Sâïd.
103 These quarters follow one another on the plane of earth that goes
from the ighzer, "ravine," l-H'ed to the Ighzer n-Berka u ^cAli.
Downstream the following quarters follow one another: Agell. y
n-ait Sâïd, Lh'ufert n-a. Bella, n-a. Chuh'u, n-a. Bihi Sâïd,
Ichkajen, a. L^canayt. And one arrives at the route from the Dîr.

311 Thus, then, we have, for about 30 hectares, 16 quarters of
312 about 2 ha. each; thus, they are spacious. On the other hand, a
very important matter -- they do not always correspond to "prin-
cipal intakes," iqdar, from the channel. The number of the lat-
ter is very high: 28 for only the section of the Talh'archt going
from one ravine to another. From these intakes depart ditches,
called lmçâref here. They serve, according to irregular lines,
parcels that are irregular and situated at different levels of the
declivity. No correspondence between the irrigation technique
and the toponymy.

312 The distribution system for the water is new; it succeeds an
178 older one, the origin of which cannot be stated precisely. For-
(624) merly, the Talh'archt was /214/ managed on the general plane of
all the ait Abdella that it serves (that is, in particular Tuz'z'umt
and Ilutjan included) by an amazzel who would deliver the water
according to the needs of such-and-such land. A choice neces-
sarily arbitrary, and thus being possibly amenable to only two
hypotheses: either a rigorous agrarian order, wiping out, in a
functional unanimity, competition between individuals; or, on
the contrary, authority of a chief replacing the village institution.
We lean toward the first hypothesis. At a later time (control over
the powers of the amghar by the Protectorate), this system was
broken up, and the water distributed by "units," ferdiyat, accord-
ing to a practice apparently widespread. The beneficiaries of
these units were henceforth no more than territorial entities, such
as Bul^cwân or Taqennurt, considered as villages. However that
may be, the ground of Bul^cwân henceforth had at its disposal 2.5
(624) ferdiyat: that is, 30 hours. But it is necessary to note that under
these reduced proportions and within these 30 hours, the

[Bul^cwān]
[Taqennurt]

/214 cont./

b) Taqennurt

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[492]
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Fuq Bul^cwān is a ground that includes 141 very unequal parcels, 100 of them exiguous and 4 spacious. If one adds this number to that of Taqennurt, one obtains a figure of some /215/ 220 parcels for a total area of approximately 55 ha. That is, an average area of about 20 ares per parcel. A considerable figure in relation to the horticulture upstream: almost tenfold. It implies a cereal economy, with animal tillage with two beasts. In fact, Bul^cwān and Taqennurt together count nearly 200 bovines. Here the hoe is used only to finish the work around the foot of the trees.

Other verifications result from the parceling.

Names of <u>ikhs</u> -s	Number having rights	Number of parcels		Total of the parcels
		at Bul ^c wān	at Taqennurt	
a. Lkhil	2	21	13	34
a. Lmchari	6	13	5	18
a. Sidi Ghānem	10	32	2	34
a. Belh'ajj	1	3		3
a. H'mmo u Jāa	2	2	4	6
a. H'mmo u Qeddur	2	3	1	4
a. Si Mh'nd	7	17	7	24
Ichkajen	4	12	1	13
a. Wah'man	1	2	1	3
a. Benjāa'	5	8	1	9
a. Naqr	1	1		1
a. Usstif	1	1		1
a. Bihi u Sāid	2	5		5
a. Wammern	2	10	5	15
a. Sāid	3	7	1	8
a. Bella u H'id'	1	1		1
a. Wanz'id'	1	1		1
a. Bihi u H'id'	3	1	7	8
a. Waferyad'	2		8	8
a. Alla u Bujmā	1		2	2
a. Jāa Ukways	2		2	2
a. Lqorch'	1		1	1
a. Leanayt	6	3	4	7
a. Wārab	3		6	6
lh'ançalen	2		3	3
a. Bihi u Ali	2		6	6
Total: 26 <u>ikhs</u> -s	<u>70</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>223</u>

[Taqqennurt]

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This table calls for various comments.

1) Inequality of the landed situations. The a. Lkhil, family of the present chiefs, possess, by themselves alone, 2/7 of the parcels. Other ikhs-s also attain a respectable total. Thus, the a. Lmchari (18), the a. sidi Ghānem, descendants of the local saint (34), the a. sidi Mh'nd (24). But other patrimonies are reduced to one parcel. One sees appearing here the "great family" ousting the weak ones.

2) This aspect is accentuated if one considers only Taqqennurt, where 7 ikhs-s are not even represented; the expansion in the "colony" is the business of the powerful ones.

3) A certain symmetry is nonetheless observable, since /216/ 3/4 of the ikhs-s are represented, even though unequally, in the two grounds.

Here we are on the way to other observations. Within Fuq Bul^Cwān the rule is the plurality of the parcels: veritable representation. Although no longer corresponding to the toponymic division of the ground, it expresses a characteristic entanglement: a sort of secondhand or decadent form of landed-property sampling observed in the mountain sectors. In this respect one has only to cast one's eyes over the parcellary schema of the ground. The same names reappear at the four cardinal points. The parcels are arranged nearly on two longitudinal strips in the S.-N. direction. At Taqqennurt, it is on three strips: one immediately against the Talh'archt, the other bordering the river, the third in between. These parcels, called by the name of the ikhs, are generally divided between two or three individual owners. Their number is rather moderate (70) for the ensemble.

That such symmetries have survived so many causes of disaggregation; even more, that the spontaneous action of the great ones, being accomplished by purchases and sales, without meeting the restraint of institutions of patrimonial immutability, has respected these symmetries, indeed has even tended to reconstitute them, that reveals either a singularly obstinate survival of an old order, or -- which would be even more revealing -- an inveterate tendency of the milieu to recompose itself through all

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./

- 613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system.

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzūyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irri-
gated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage
of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of
Inzzūyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we
are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
619 Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^Cwān, the landed traditions
of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were
replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^C, whose first ham-
let bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in
contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector
was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was interces-
sors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular,
whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to
bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit
channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history.
A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at
a rate of principle, to the amghar-s of the a. Abdella. Let us
understand that this was a no man's land /the italics are in English
in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of
the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should
look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the asif-s Seksawa and
Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zūyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
(659) Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

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/251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1):

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1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed leff. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," ifqiren, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

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A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

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(178) One of the most curious ones, and which, something to remember, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

[184]

2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a 'Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

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000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

[Ait Lh'sen]

/253 cont./

128

But this collection of facts and images cannot take the analysis very far. What does stand out is the variety, and also the incoherence among traits of different order and character. Let us now look at the synthesis that takes place at the cantonal echelon.

A Ritual Personality: the A. Lh'sen

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The religious life of the a. Lh'sen experiences a paroxysm at the time of the feasts of summer. Huge slaughterings of goats are practiced, followed by auctions of portions of fresh meat for the benefit of the saints (2).

2. Cf. J. Berque, "Viande fraîche et droit communal /Fresh meat and communal law/," in Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^e) /A notarial Arabo-Shluh glossary of the Deren (eighteenth century)/, R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq.

It also experiences a secondary peak: the agapae of yenneyr, "January," also called lmârûf n-tgellatin. "feasts with the turnips," because this root in particular, which reaches maturity then, is consumed there. The agape is celebrated in the "mosque," ljâmâ, timezgida. Although the first of these two forms of feast is not necessarily connected to the cult of a saint, nor the second to an oratorical villager, they are made pendant, so to speak, at times, in places, and according to styles that contrast.

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It is still in the duration of the agricultural life that the "stipulated service" is registered, the chchard' of the marabouts, to whom the canton pays an annual cens in exchange for protection, either general, as is the case for Sidi Ah'med u Ali, or specialized in certain tasks, as is the case for others. This is a mechanism of assurances, in the full sense of the term, and which is exercised in time with a thoroughly fiscal minutia. A first sending of the first fruits is done on the occasion of the mussem, "patronal fair" of the saint in Mez'ud'a. Nothing is lacking of the

[Ait Lh'sen]

- 241/253 cont./ Nothing is lacking of the
796 sampling of the products of the soil, not even the henna intended
for the women of the zaouia, or the "marjoram," lh'baq (3),

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3. It is not without interest that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the archives of our consulate of Mogador mention important quantities of marjoram in the movement of exportation. By whom was it ordered, and was it indeed a matter of h'baq?

utilized in certain drinks and which is /254/ cultivated in flower-pots. The cens properly speaking consists of a portion of the harvest, or rather of its monetary equivalent. It is paid at the
[221] lkh'rif, a pause from the agricultural tasks and from economic activities in general, which separates the harvest from the next tillage. It is the period when the peasant community recovers its breath.

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533 Besides these annual rhythms, of interest to the whole of the population, and which both imply and promote unanimity, there are others more limited and concerning a professional group, the t't'olba. The latter carry out each week, in certain mosques, a psalmody of the entire Koran. This makes 12 series of 5 h'izb-s or "sections" each, and which are recited either in chorus and successively or simultaneously by teams. The operation bears the name of ttefrik. The conclusion gives rise to an agape-sslukt,
[574] where the alimentary feasting is joined with orthodox religious exaltation in an atmosphere both ecstatic and municipal. Under the circumstances, the complex personage of the t't'aleb gives himself up to all the effervescence of a soul whose energy is then freed from the sanctimonious reserve to which it is confined the rest of the time. A hitherto sly force bursts forth. The psalmody is finished in phrases of a strange falsetto, very impressive to hear. These vocalizations are translated locally by the Arabic verb

[Ait Abdella]

/257/

221 241 776 778 782 796	Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
	Bul ^c wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a <u>bu qob-rayn</u> , that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have <u>manâqib</u> .	<u>Chchard'</u> : per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
	Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh' and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	<u>Mârûf</u> : a goat.	September.
	Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		<u>Mârûf</u> : two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

/257 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul ^C wān (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abder- rah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, in- determinate.	<u>Mârûf</u> : 5 to 10 goats.	Septem- ber.
	Bul ^C wan. a. Wagen- na. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques <u>timeaga-</u> <u>diwin.</u>		<u>Chchard'</u> : a <u>takharrubt</u> of barley per foyer, some wal- nuts, some almonds.	At the har- vest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, in- determinate.	<u>Mârûf</u> : a goat.	Septem- ber.
	The en- semble of the a. Ab- della.	Sidi Âli Aregrag; sidi Âb- derrah'- man. (Zaoulas of Tibu- riin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and gene- alogy of the Re- graga.	<u>Mârûf</u> : a bovine.	First Sun- day in February, eight days before the <u>mâ- rûf</u> of sidi Sâid, at the con- fines of the Azag- har of the Mtugga.

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/258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

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Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	<u>Mârûf.</u>	Summer.
	Mosque.		<u>Mârûf.</u> Agape.	With the rains. Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Mes-sâud u Abdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	<u>Mârûf.</u>	Summer.
	Sidi Azza.	Indeterminate.	<u>Mârûf.</u>	Departure to mountain pastures.
Tamezgurt.	Mosque.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
	Sidi bu Lqnadil.		<u>Mârûf.</u>	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

/258 cont./

221 241 776 778 782 796	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr. irrigation of the barley.
	Ail the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolu- tion.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga. Sidi Brahim u Sliman. Lalla Mbarka u H'med. Timezgida Iregragen.	Indeterminate. -- -- --	The saints have a summer <i>mârûf</i> , and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Con- tinued on next page./
Tannam- mert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

/259 cont./

221	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi	Ind. This is "the	Certain saints,
241		Borrja or	lord of the house"	like Sidi bu Mer-
776		Chefkh n-	or "of the tower"	wan and Sidi
778		Tgemmi.	or "of hope."	Yah'ya, had two
982		Timezgida	Ind. "Monsieur	<u>mārūf</u> -s. The
796		Ugni.	light."	first has fallen in-
		Sidi Tifawt.		to desuetude.
				The other saints
				each have one
				<u>mārūf</u> .
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya.	Indeterminate.	
		Sidi Ghanen.		
		Sidi Mh'and.		
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of	
			the asylum."	

In a. H'acduyws:

776
778

/The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source. / The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

- a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Amer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensus; the ancestor, full of imagery, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;
- b) Unnamed, and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

/276 cont./

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But these diverse characteristics originate at the stage of rustic exchanges between villagers and saints of grounds: and it is at this stage that they may best be analyzed.

Seasonal Rites, Collective Pacts,
Individual Contracts

796

Habitat of the sacred: personal or simply communal sanctuaries. Rhythm or phases of the sacred: these periodic renewals marked by agapae, pomp, and sacrifices. Finally, accountancy of the divine: here is a very important third element, perhaps the most striking, and which impresses on the institution a cachet of specific ratiocination and avarice. And although it plunges into collective apprehension and depends narrowly on the recurrence of natural phenomena, it manifests itself under the aspects of individualism and conscience. There is something very remarkable there: the liturgical periodicity, itself linked to the agricultural periodicity, terminates in a contract.

[241]
[221]

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The old jurists from the Sous, who make themselves the echo of quarrels among hamlets for the recompense of the fqih or the repairs on the communal mosque, raised the question of the obligation of the Friday prayer in the case where several hamlets or "bicoques" /shanties/ (in the etymological sense) have together only one mosque, which is not close to any of them. The liaison of this institution with the taqbilt, which is distributed in a plurality of habitat, furnishes an interesting historical suggestion.

[634]

[312]
[423]

Another characteristic that one might draw from these jurists is the liaison of the recompense of the fqih to the turns for water, that is, to sum up, to the agnatic order (1).

[465]

1. Ajwiba said to be from "Bennâçer," that is, from the sheik Ibn Nâçir of Tamgrût, ms. zaouïa of the Mez'ud'a, p. 54, l. 7 sq. The salary of the fqih is fixed on ayyâm dawlat cuyûni-him. The ar. /Arabic/ dawla, "turn," corresponds to the chl. /Shluh/ tawala. But is there derivation?

/402 cont./

171 | what seems to the inhabitant himself to express a veritable community. The Seksawa are the pole of rude and refractory archaism, as the Idaw Semlal are the one of moral expansion, of breaking up, of perpetual rejuvenation. Under the nuances due to the differences of cadre and of way of life, but especially to the capacity for local variations of the system, one will undoubtedly be able to understand the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ world which, in the preceding analysis, did not stay too close to the so-accented personality of the Seksawa.

The comparison with Kabylia will be infinitely more delicate. In what measure can it even be instructive, and does it not correspond to a simple clause of style? One can in fact pose this question. Each time that the account has recourse to Kabyle facts, especially in the law, it has been to set them against Chleuh /Shluh/ facts. Certainly, these two societies invite comparison by language, political mores, village habitat. But the differences are even more striking than the analogies.

• (241) Here, valley crops, by irrigation and tiers, disposition of the orchard by masses; there, on the contrary, dry tillage, dispersion
[342] of trees on slopes infinitely cut up. Here the house with terrace /flat roof/; there the roof of red tiles with double slope: these two styles express an opposition that E.-F. Gautier correctly perceived, although whimsically labeled as "Botr and Branés architectures" (1).

1. E.-F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord /The Past of North Africa/, 1942, p. 243.

000 Kabyle agriculture, although favored by the pluviometry, remains precarious. This is due not only to the insufficiency of landowner bases which the parceling destroys, but to the indolence of the techniques. The love for the tree has undoubtedly acted on the landscape. The slope is dotted with olive trees. More disciplined, the fig tree is arranged in gardens. The two species complete the natural contribution of the carob tree, the ash, the oak with acorns. But this country of powerful declivities does not know, with a few

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VI

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(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

142 Plate V: Seksawa women.

222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihāz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part
of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.

• 241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend
from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a
capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two
slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees
distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the
photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia
called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared
Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in
order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two
villages of dry stone, Tawrir and Agerdayan, are almost con-
fused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the
bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which
are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated
quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--653 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. VII

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Terraces at Tasa

The furrows and sheltered beds arranged for the distribution of the water are distinguished on the lower tier.

1: Berque--655 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Pl. IX

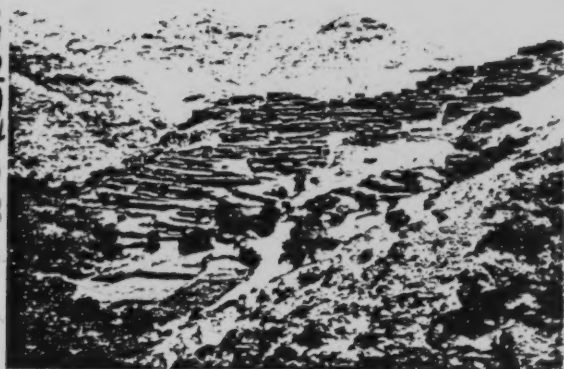
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C. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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C. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial en-
sembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

Plate IX:

241 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
291 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
516 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.
778

133 /At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
162 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
361 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
619 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
634 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
613 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
778 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
796 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.

Pl. XI

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Valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen

The view was shot from Buteghradin, in the upstream-downstream direction. Note the broadening of the valley between Ighilan in the foreground and Awines in the background. Careful arboriculture, slopes protected by the vegetation, broad and pleasant bed.

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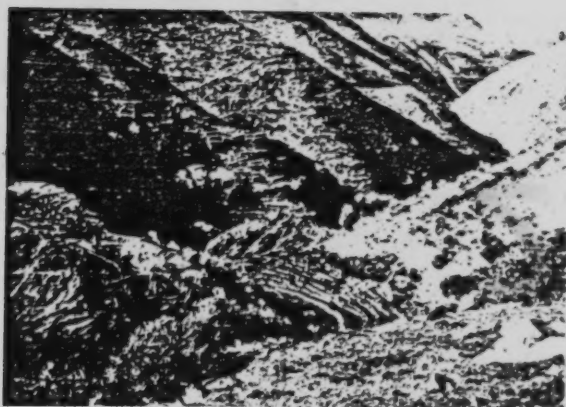
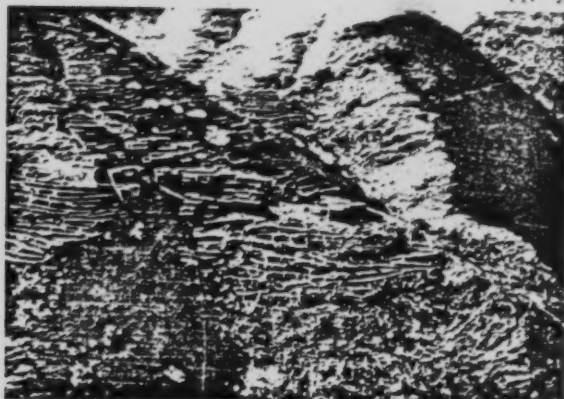


Chorus on the Tichka

Behind the people of the ah'wach one distinguishes the swampy meadow az'mu y-Igenfis, the name of which has been compared with that of the medieval Genfisa.

Pl. XII

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• 241
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The Iguntar

(Cl. L. Berque)

[192] These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannem-
[192] mert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the
[343] village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid
[487] Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of
life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated
terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated
by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley,
at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

/9 cont./

132 IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- Of all the geographic factors that dominate life in the Moroccan South, the one that regulates human existence most strictly is the climate. In the vicinity of the Sahara, [133] under the rays of an almost tropical sun, the existence of strong relief in a region where the summits sometimes exceed 4,000 meters is not enough to spare the Sous from the heat of a sky that the clouds too rarely come to veil.

If one disregards for a moment modifications occasioned by the altitude of the summits of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the distribution of meteoric waters in the plains of the South obeys simple rules. As in the whole of Morocco, there are two periods of rain here, one in October and November, the other one in February and March. Moreover, these two seasons are sometimes confused because of precipitation that occasionally comes in the course of the intermediate months of winter; but during the summer months the atmosphere nearly always remains calm.

It is to the influence of the great depressions of the western Atlantic that the Sous owes the advantage of a relative humidity at a latitude where in the rest of North Africa one sees only desert territories spread out. But in spite of the proximity of the Ocean, the average annual rainfall remains poor. It reaches 30 centimeters on the coast, then diminishes somewhat in the interior, in the country of the middle course of the Tensift and the Sous; /10/ farther on it increases afresh somewhat, then again becomes poorer toward the steppes of the Dra, where it is below 20 centimeters.

These rains, insufficient to make a lasting vegetation live, are in addition irregular. It sometimes happens that the fine [241] weather persists during the whole autumn, so that tillage remains impossible. At other times the wheat, sown and sprouted during the last months of the year, dries out in the spring because the water, waited for with anxiety in the month of March, arrives too

[133] late or in too small an amount. In some years the wadis grow large in a day following heavy downpours, and all communications,

/10 cont./

132 usually so easy in the plains, are cut off by the smallest gullies.
[133] In other winters, on the contrary, the cisterns remain empty and the atmosphere retains a pitiless limpidity from October to

132 March. The importance of annual variations in the total rain-
-241 fall is such, and the distribution of rain so capricious, that out-
side of valleys fertilized by springs or the water from mountain
torrents one cannot expect to obtain good harvests more than
one time out of five. Every five years, every ten years at the
[731] most, several bad harvests follow one another and give rise to
famine. When finally it happens that the cisterns have not been
filled and the springs are drying up, men and flocks must abandon
their territory for several months. So one sees each family try to
acquire, in the vicinity of the ségulas /conduits for supplying
and distributing water/ descending from the mountains, a few
tiny fields, cultivated with care, abundantly manured, whose
three small annual harvests, always certain, will at least permit
escaping the famine.

132 The Sous, not very favorable for the development of a sed-
233 entary life because of the irregularity and insufficiency of rain,
nevertheless does not offer the nomads the vast open spaces nec-
essary for their flocks. A forest thinly sown with argan trees
covers part of the plains and hills near the Atlantic, and the
stretches free for the course of the tribes are too small for pas-
toralists. The wandering peoples coming from the desert, who
have invaded the valleys several times in the course of history,
have not been able to stay there and preserve the nomadic life.
Rebuffed by the sedentary people settled in the vicinity of the
springs and ségulas and whose cultivated lands extend all around
or diminish, according to whether the year seems propitious or
unfavorable to them, they have scattered /11/ or have adapted
to the precarious life of the agriculturalists of the Sous.

132 V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the moun-
133 tains. -- The obstacle furnished by the mountains to the winds
from the Atlantic, loaded with the greatly desired rain, changes
noticeably the regularity of the climate. The two great parallel

/11 cont./

132 chains of the Atlas -- the "Deren" of the Arab geographers and
133 the Anti-Atlas -- between which the volcanic mass of the Sirwa
shoots out like a gigantic bridge, form natural barriers and
screens on the north versant, from which the streams and snows
run down or abate several times in the course of the winter.

The average width of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ reaches
80 kilometers and its crests rise in the east to more than 4,000
meters in the region of the summits of the Ighil Mgoun /Ighil
M'Goun/ and Wanoukrim; the massif of the Tichka, among the
Seksawa, still reaches 3,500 meters; the tabular mountains of
the Ida Ou Tanan are more than 2,000 meters above the Ocean.
The rising of masses of air, which takes place slowly on the
gentle slope of the north versant of the great chain, causes
abundant precipitation. Its total amount is double that observed
in the Marrakech /Marrakesh/ plain. Moreover, the rainfall is
more regular in the Deren than in the rest of the Sous, and even
during the summer the storms from the region of the summits
help to maintain in the high pastures a humidity unknown else-
where. The abundant snows of the high summits last until July,
and their melting feeds torrents whose clear waters flow in the
plain until autumn. By contrast, the south versant of the Haut-
Atlas, steeply inclined toward the Sous valley, is less favored;
it receives only a small part of the winter rains and the storms;
the snow disappears in a few days under the action of an impla-
cable sun, and the brooks that flow in the spring dry up for the
most part before summer.

132 But even if the high parts of the Deren benefit from a favor-
133 able pluviometric regime similar to the one of the plains of the
Gharb /Rharb/, man manages to turn it to account only with dif-
• 241 ficulty. The relief is in fact so abrupt, the cut of the valleys so
deep, that arable land is nearly unknown in the mountains. It is
by patient effort, rolling big stones to make minuscule terraces,
that the Berbères /Berbers/ succeed in retaining on the flank of
the torrents /12/ the precious humus from which their labor will
make a few ears come up. Accordingly, the high plateaus of the
Atlas, such as the Kik, the "Azzeg" of the left bank of the Asif

/12 cont./

132 el Mal, the upper slopes of the Alt Semmeg and the Oneïn, take
 133 on inestimable value because the cultivation of cereals is almost
 241 always possible there. Even so, the area of these privileged
 lands is too small to support the mountain inhabitants. They
 have to seek out at the foot of the two versants, on that border
 to which the name of "Dir" is given, the open spaces of the
 plain fertilized by the gushing springs and the torrents coming
 from the narrow gorges of the Atlas.

133 The Dirs of the north and of the south of the Deren are the
 361 most populous mountain regions. It is at the point where the last
 241 slopes die away that the beautiful olive groves of Demnat /Dem-
 [245] nate/, Tahanaout, Dnasa, Amismiz /Amizmiz/, Tîsgin, Imi n
 [443] Tanout begin. Large market towns rise up near the séguías.
 Markets are held there, to which the Berbères /Berbers/ flock
 from the high valleys and the Dir, as well as Arabs from the great
 plain. In the same way, on the south versant, the villages of
 Targa n Izouggwaghen among the Alt Semmeg, Talekjont and
 Talemt in the country of the Ida ou Zeddagh, of the Ida ou
 Gwailal, and of Bou L'ajlat to the north of Taroudant, offer a
 startling contrast, because of the fertility of their fields, with the
 harsh land of the Aghbar and of the Ida ou Msattog. Seeing them
 makes one understand why the mountain people, separated by a
 few hours on the road from these places of abundance, sometimes
 allow themselves to be tempted by the marvelous sweetness of the
 gardens on the edge of the plain. The southern Dir, however, is
 less important than the northern one. The too-abrupt fall from
 the Atlas, the less favorable exposure of its slopes somewhat re-
 duce the flow from the springs and séguías and narrowly delimit
 the development of the cultivated land.

133 The conditions of human life in the Anti-Atlas are com-
 pletely different. Here the chain is more worn down, folded at
 various points, so that on the plateaus of the Zenaga and of the
 Souktana to the East, in the region of the center crests, between
 the land of the Ida ou Kensous and the Ida ou Gnîdif, one readily
 finds those large arable expanses that are so rare in the Deren.

[132] But the barrier of the Haut-Atlas is enough to stop the rains to
 the north of the Sous valley.

/12 cont./

133 the north of the Sous valley. In most of the country -- except
 241 on the western slopes of the mountains of the Ida Oultit, near
 the Atlantic -- the harvests are so meager that in the best years
 the women /13/ carefully pick the ears by hand one by one in-
 133 stead of cutting them with a sickle. So the two Dirs of the
 361 Anti-Atlas exert the same attraction as in the Deren on the dis-
 inherited inhabitants of the summits. To the North, from Tidsi
 to Wijjan, springs, wells, or séguías support several villages; to
 the South it is the line of the oases of the Noun /Nun/ and of the
 Bani that marks the resurgence of the wadis in the vicinity of the
 desert. The qsour /fortified places/ of Qsabi, Goulimin
 /Goulimine/, Tarjicht, the palm groves of the Ifran, of Aqqa,
 and of Tisint thus form, on the southern boundary of the Sous, a
 Saharan reply to the olive groves of the Marrakech /Marrakesh/
 plain.

133 VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- In the
 center of the country, a natural passage opens between the two
 great chains, which leads easily from the springs of the Dadès to
 the mouth of the Sous. Were it not for the obstacle of the Sirwa,
 the waters from the Izoughar passes would begin there and go in
 a straight line by way of Taroudant to the Atlantic. Moreover,
 this route of penetration continues farther to the East by follow-
 ing the southern edge of the central Atlas; by the threshold of
 Imider, it reaches the Todgha and the Ferkla to arrive at the
 Tafilelt /Tafilalet/.

133 The narrow plain enclosed between the two chains of moun-
 241 tains -- the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas -- is in truth only a kind of
 133 desert, but the rich valleys of the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, and the
 134 Sous trace in its center a continuous line of gardens and orchards.
 241 Travelers struck by the contrast between the aridity and solitude
 133 of the steppe and the abundance that reigns in the Dadès, the
 134 Dra, and the Haut-Sous have described to us the prodigious fer-
 241 tility of these valleys with an enthusiasm difficult not to feel
 with them. Three harvests succeed one another in the course of
 the year, and sometimes even three stages of vegetation --

/13 cont./

133 cereals, fruit trees, and palm trees -- are raised at the same
134 time. Formerly, until the seventeenth century, the growing of
241 sugar cane flourished, and it is undoubtedly this remembrance
[249] that contributed toward maintaining up to our day the reputa-
tion of richness of the Moroccan South. Still today one sees
437 caravans on the Atlas passes, transporting to Marrakech /Marra-
484 kesh/ roses and figs from the Dadès, dates, henna, and takaout
/tamarisk galls/ from the Dra, olives from the Sous; while bar-
ley, maize, sorghum, and the most diverse vegetables support
in the qasour /fortified places/ the peaceable population of the
oases.

311 /14/ From that one understands what the attraction exerted
133 by this interior line, this thin string of gardens that forms in a
134 way the great axis of the Sous province, might be in the general
poverty of the country.

133 Toward the Dadès descend at the same time the sedentary
361 Senhaja of the Deren and the Aft 'Atta of the Saghro. The hum-
[443] ble market towns of Tazenakht /Tazenakhte/ and of the Zag-
mouzen play the same role with respect to the Aft Waouzgît, to
the Sirwa, and to the Souktana and Zenaga of the eastern Anti-
Atlas; finally, even the river of the Sous, from its entrance into
the plain up to its mouth, gathers in its villages the Arabs set-
tled in the valley and the Berbères /Berbers/ of the western part
of the two chains.

133 Nevertheless, whatever may be the fertility of the lands ir-
134 rigated by one of the five natural lines of attraction formed by
the Dirs of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas and the axis of the great
valleys, the soil of the Sous does not manage to support its nu-
merous and prolific populations. The oases and gardens have
311 insufficient area, and the balance furnished by the harvests in
241 the "bour" (1)

1. Unirrigated lands.

of the plains and hills remains indispensable in order to ensure
the subsistence of the people. Accordingly, when bad harvests

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
 241 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
 166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
 [132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
 [731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
 [727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
 [701] celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
 [144] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
 to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common
 characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère
 /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
 101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi,
 which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce
 between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan
 South that one can observe the most original manifestations of
 the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at
 ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
 [177] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the
 "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/
 Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
 the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
 [144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mix-
 ture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often
 falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more
 bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autoch-
 thons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups
 that occupy them and remain the most active and the most num-
 erous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding
 what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the
 plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
 491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed
 by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which
 constant relations are established between the two versants, so
 that the displacement of people, the migration of families and
 tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only

(137) on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desolation.

361 Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the

(137) wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost absent;

(312) each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest,

• (241) burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven toward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba 'Amran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the 103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Ait 'Amer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulîmin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center
[797] that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the
South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra
among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence
of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several
centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[195] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in
the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their re-
ligion (1).

[113]

1. Léon l'Africain, Description de
l'Afrique /Description of Africa/,
Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the
Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted
for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient
villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes
serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Is-
lamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

433 X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in
241 the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great
expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can
pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is
the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in
the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the
springs and the séguías scarcely suffice to bring into being the
small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of
the bottom of the large valleys.

/191 cont./

is handed down from father to son. The "Alt Teskawin" never dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associations, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite; in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic relations of great importance. In the former are found rich summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
 *634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
 311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
 •241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
 233 his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
 [443] war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
 accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
 factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
 616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
 *634 that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
 rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
 cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the
 interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic
 relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the
 mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imisfern" with the Alt
 Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the
 Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the
 "Indgherit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in
 the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous
 and Alt Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances
 crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imisfern" on
 the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south
 versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the
 Alt Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen
 and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the
 "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their
 economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus
 it can happen that political events that took place on the north
 versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it
 is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
 *634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
 616 allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
 [178] action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
 however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^c" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the de-
tails of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make de-
cisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^c," to which the
[346] name "jema't" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday
mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
[212] group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[755] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the
[358] Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[574] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to
spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village,
such are the little practical problems that the assembly must
solve in the best interests of all. The "jema't" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
[787] by the jema't to plow before a family that pos-
sesses "baraka" has found that circumstances
are favorable for beginning the work. Cf.
Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons,
[423] the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done
on trees belonging in common to a large number
of owners, could be done only in the presence of
the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the
council.

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguilas; fi-
 [185] nally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
 [241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
 [245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
 [624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that inter-
 623 venes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop
 627 police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But
 681 most often each "jema't" of a "mouda" fixes these penalties as
 [625] it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from
 a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of
 [671] the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the
 [177] "mouda" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetra-
 [632] tion of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in
 the country.

623 Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of mate-
 184 rial life, the assembly of the "mouda" often assumes great local
 importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the
 population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses,
 the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by
 mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of
 623 the "jema't" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the
 [346] Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this
 [361] country, on a solitary hill (1).

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 * 634

[619]

1. It may happen that the organization of the
 "mouda" develops on the model of that of the
 "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a
 moqaddem. This is the case in several small
 tribes of the Seksawa (the Ait Haddiyous in par-
 ticular). This event occurs in a region where
 the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are
 stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from
 life one of the phases of the appearance of new
 autonomous fractions being formed by simple
 growth of the "mouda." One also sees from

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language - generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber - and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and south-east of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. Shluh

- 101 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of
- 161 the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000.
- 197 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects:
- 101 Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower
- Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the
- Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa
- spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and
- High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the
- plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and
- Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes
- in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great
- Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).
- ♦ 241 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged
- 361 in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth
- 342 houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified
- 343 storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

ETHNIC GROUPS

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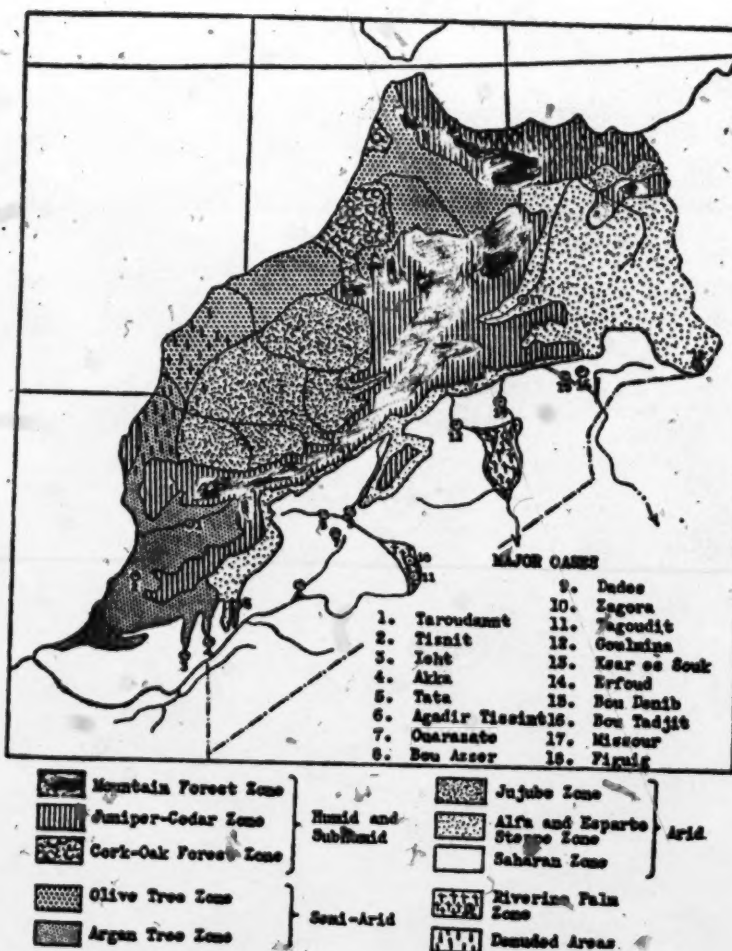


Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfious (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou 1, [i.e., the agricultural pattern--Analyst]

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- 241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agriculture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irrigation and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower mountains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all cultivated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher mountains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry. The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys, where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats, which are tended by the women and children. In the high mountains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of families may accompany them to the high pastures - the remainder staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because of the scarcity of adequate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19 26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83, fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20; Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22; Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).
- 13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh becomes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The argan tree-zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador) and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consisting of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (530-541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and 241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system, is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat, 233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree, whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere.

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Regueibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first